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GENDER INTEGRATION OF A TRADITIONALLY MALE FIELD:
A DEFINITION OF THE OCCUPATION

FINAL REPORT

MARGARET O'CONNELL

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to explore the relationship between occupational conceptualization (image) and occupational definition in police work. Specific attention was paid to the effects of the relationship on the integration of women into this traditionally male field. While conducted primarily from an organizational perspective, a limited number of social psychological instruments were administered to characterize the effects of structure on the individual. Participant observation and extensive interviewing were the methodological techniques employed.

Preliminary analysis indicated that there was an attempt in this case to construct the organization according to idealized conceptualizations, but that this did not coincide with daily job performance requirements. As a conseqeunce, this discrepancy led not only to an exclusion of certain categories of persons from the occupation, but also created a daily work environment devoid of any real solidarity, efficiency, or productivity.

The conclusion drawn is that most of the problems women face in entering traditionally male fields are related to the structure of the work system and the manner in which recruits are socialized to that system. False expectations on the part of males and females clearly lead to different experiences for each, and typically to cycles of demoralization, demotivation, and failure. For women, failure is likely to mean the inability to enter, or remain on, the job; for men, it is likely to mean inefficiency and a lack of productivity. Organizational restructuring is required, not only as it addresses employment equity, but organizational yield as well.

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For the protection of human subjects the investigator(s) have adhered
to policies of applicable Federal Law 45CFR46.

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I. THE CASE UNDER STUDY

1. Introduction

Women are entering jobs which were previously held only by men. Problems are being experiences as a result of this break with tradition. Questions arise about all facets of the phenomenon. And answers are sought.

The first problems felt by women entering non-traditional fields are resistance to entry, and the inability to enter. Neiva and Gutek (1981) offer an explanation for this opposition rooted in history and economic condition. Male jobs have always constituted the primary labor force. Female jobs constitute a secondary and surplus labor force. Female jobs, therefore, are of low prestige, and are clustered around a few tasks. Most female jobs were originally held by men. When women entered, the men left. This was a result of the perceived downgrading of the job, and the ensuing loss of prestige, salary, and benefits. In a non-growth economy, men do not have the option to leave one occupational field for another. Prestige and salary must be maintained, so women must be refused entry, if at all possible. Application rejections frequently use "lack of experience" as an explanation. This may appear accurate upon first glance, but as Lyle and Ross (1973) point out, men are offered apprenticeships and company provided training when entering industry, while women gain their knowledge and skill through schooling. This would clearly limit a woman's range of occupational choices to a narrow few since schools typically do not prepare a person for a specific job.

As women force entry, however, men demand that "image" be maintained. Women must behave like men. At this point, a second set of problems begins to unfold. Women who pioneered in a typical employment are considered by their opposition to be maladjusted. Though research has shown this accusation to be unfounded (Angrist and Almquist, 1975; Sedney and Turner, 1975), its popularity continues to sustain an atmosphere of futility. The woman who does not adopt male behavior is unacceptable; the woman who does behave like a man is sick. Richardardson (1974, 1975) found, to the contrary, that female career pioneers typically are more intellectual, achieve higher grades, have a high self-concept, seek intrinsic job rewards, include components labeled masculine in their behavioral repertoire, and had the support of their teachers in high school and/or college for their occupational pursuits. Female pioneers have also been found to have a strong sense of internal control (Turner and McCaffrey, 1974), a history of involvement with masculine reference groups, and the presence of female role models (Almquist and Angrist, 1970, 1971), the capacity for endurance (Hoyt and Kennedy, 1958), positive evaluations of their female competence (Baruch, 1972), and more theoretical and less religious conceptualizations than their traditional counterparts (Wagman, 1966).

One of the more significant reasons for women entering sex-segregated fields is that these jobs offer greater financial compensation and mobility than any of the jobs defined as appropriately female. Whether working is a personal desire or an economic necessity, whether single or married, whether supporting herself or a family, a woman would be viewed with no small amount of skepticism were she to ignore the financial component in making her occupational choice.

During the years of economic growth and prosperity, women tailored their jobs to their husbands. With need being the motivator, of late, decisions about employment are similar for men and women. At the same time, the motivating force has also sharpened the competitive weapon - gender. In an effort to explore the process in which this weapon is used, to understand why and how women are excluded from, and caused problems in, the workplace, a number of questions have been posed about workers and the work system. It was a hypothesis of this research that there is a direct relationship between a worker's behavior and the parameters set by the work system. In examining this relationship, some of the questions for which answers were sought included:

> What are the definitions of the lives these men and women have chosen? How are they similar and different?

> How does the job relate to those definitions? What are the expectations of the job? How do these personal expectations coincide or conflict with those of the job, or employer?

> How do men and women respond to change, to disappointment, to failure? To advancement, to rewards, to success? What are their coping mechanisms?

With regard to the women in particular:

> What aspects of the work are actually new to them? What aspects are difficult?

> Upon which components of their behavioral repertoire do they draw to perform their work duties? Upon which do they draw to manage relations with their co-workers?

> What are the intra- and inter-personal conflicts generated? Is there a conflict between the cultural norms for women and the occupational definitions for traditionally male work?

And with regard to the workplace itself:

> Do occupational norms refer to how work is to be
> done, or to how social relations are to be conducted
> at work?
>
> What accounts for conflict between labor and man-
> agement? What conditions lead to high morale and
> high productivity?

Finally, in bringing the many facets together, an answer may be found for:

> What is the connection between attitude, behavior,
> and work?

2. Statement of tne Problem

Idealized conceptions of role performance are found in most occupations.
They serve to attract and more easily socialize recruits, as well as control
incumbents (Bloom, 1963; DeFleur, 1964; Whittaker and Oelsen, 1964; Becker
and Carper, 1956). Such conceptualizations are developed in response to
potential organizational strains (Malinowski, 1926) by administrative offic-
ials whose perceptions of reality generally carry great weight. Ideal con-
ceptions typically become occupational definitions thereby influencing organ-
izational selection criteria, the content of training programs, and refer-
ence points by which newcomers evaluate their own transition into the occu-
pation (Garskoff, 197l; Corwin, 1961; Fox, 1957). While the need for certain
attributes can be objectively demonstrated, it is not uncommon for occupa-
tional definitions to be unrelated to, or inconsistent with, actual require-
ments for role performance. As a consequence, utilization of ideal rather
than real conceptions can lead to the systematic exclusion of certain cate-
gories of persons from certain occupations.

Since 1973, many discriminatory hiring practices have been forbidden by law,
but the integration of women into traditionally male fields has been pain-
fully slow. In fact, evidence points to an increase in occupational segre-
gation and income differentials between men and women during the past decade
(Hedges, 1970; Kahne, 1975; Kanter, 1977), in spite of institutionalized
policies, such as Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity, in-
tended to correct and prevent such occurrences (Freeman, 1975; Kanter, 1976;
Laws, 1975; Walum, 1977). If one accepts the premise that work is a soc-
ially structured activity reflective of the culture in which it occurs, then
one might assume that the conceptualization of jobs in American society has
been, and continues to be, gender based; that is, certain jobs, or occupa-
tions, are believed to require certain characteristics, or personal attri-
butes, that are exclusive to one gender. Research has shown, in fact, that

"statistical discrimination," whereby the gender of the applicant is used as an indicator of interior characteristics which are too costly to measure directly (Berg, 1971; Phelps, 1972).

In order to comply with anti-discrimination statutes, there are, logically, two directions in which efforts could be aimed: 1) the elimination of gender related qualities from occupational role definitions, or, 2) compensatory socialization to impart the gender related qualities to those categories of persons believed to be deficient. While either approach addresses the legal issues, the second has been more common than the first, because, in part, idealized role conceptions are slow to change. On the other hand, there has been growing evidence that many gender differences (Tyler, 1965) are neither inherent, nor permanent, but learned and subject to change (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957); Hartley, 1959; Lynn, 1959; Pierce, 1961; Kagan, 1964; Mussen, 1966; Mischel, 1966; Horner, 1969; Gardner, 1970; Bernard, 1971, 1972; Federbush, 1972; Weitzman, et al, 1972; Sario, Jacklin and Tittle, 1973; Weitzman, 1974). Hence, we have seen the rise of programs designed to remedy women's "deficiencies," (Graham, 1973) since it is typically believed that if women have not been conditioned to behave in ways traditionally defined as male (therefore not female), then to succeed (according to the male behavioral standards embedded in the job conceptualizations) requires the acquisition of those behaviors not already included in the female behavioral repertoire.

This study examines aspects of the discrepancy between idealized occupational definitions and actual role requirements in the field of law enforcement, specifically the State Police. While similar to any other occupation in an organizational, or bureaucratic, sense, the police are unique in the degree to which they exaggerate an idealized and gender based occupational definition. Being a policeman has been thought to require attributes possessed only by males (Bordua, 1967; Neiderhoffer, 1967), such as courage, physical strength, and emotional detachment. The literature on police and military organizations (Davis, 1976; Janowitz, 1965; Block, 1973; Reiner, 1978) demonstrated a large gap between ideology and operational requirements when these occupations were exclusively male. This examination of the discrepancy will not only challenge the view that "police work is man's work," (or, the necessity for a gender based occupational definition), but will enhance the understanding of the occupational socialization process. Women in police work are required to not only adopt a new occupational identity, but one which has as its central definition personal qualities associated with males. While the structure of police work has been examined (Wilson, 1973, 1975; Becker, 1970; Bordua, 1967; Smith, 1960; Vollmer, 1936; Westley, 1970; Skolnick, 1966, 1969; Reiner, 1978; Saunders, 1970), and the performances of women on patrol and in the military have begun to be measured (Block, 1973; Horne, 1975; DeFleur, 1978a, 1978b; Sichel, et al, 1977; Charles, 1977), the occupational socialization process, especially for women entering traditionally male fields, has been ignored.

In summary, this study has:

1. Identified the idealized conceptualizations of State Police work;

2. demonstrated how this is translated into selection criteria and training programs;

3. explored the process by which those selected adopt (or do not adopt) the occupational identity;

4. determined the degree of discrepancy between the ideal conception and the actual role requirements; and,

5. illuminated the consequences of the discrepancy for new recruits, as well as for incumbents, wherever possible.

3. Methodological Approach to the Problem

Since the study sought to explore an occupational and socialization process, the chosen method of study needed to be dynamic and able to move about in the subjects' socioemotional, as well as occupational, worlds. A qualitative approach, participant observation, was deemed to be the most suitable. A single-site case study was the most feasible pursuit for a single researcher. In addition, it was accessible, available, and well-suited to the interests and needs of the study. It was of large, but manageable size, had a "good" reputation, and had an available role for the researcher to play. The researcher also had contacts with the organization, which facilitated permission to conduct the study, entry, and initial rapport with some segments of the population.

Participant observation was selected because of a belief that an understanding of peoples' attitudes and behaviors can best be obtained by sharing their experiences. Additionally, participant observation was the only way to acquire certain types of information - that which people will not directly address in conversation; information which, to date, is unknown and cannot, therefore, be incorporated into formal questions or questionnaires; behavioral data which supports or rejects the spoken word; and information which the participants themselves deem important. Because of this last type, in particular, participant observation was determined to also be the most equitable approach for all involved. The "data door" was always open, and the data was not determined solely on the basis of researcher imagination, insight, and skill. The subjects were able to supply input. The framework of thought was not the structure of the researcher alone, as might have been the case with more quantitative tools being used in such an exploratory endeavor.

This does not mean, though, that disadvantages went unaddressed. Researcher presence was known, therefore did have an impact, and was considered at all

times. This necessitated on-the-spot modifications, as well as a major modification during the last third of the data collection process (see Appendix A). Researcher bias could not be completely eliminated. Personal perceptions of behavior, however, were monitored by the perceptions of other participants discerned through interviews and conversations. Personal behavior was kept in check by the norms of research. There was never any confusion about the role which was being performed, or the job to be done. Frequently, the withholding of a personal opinion caused a strain, but the subjects were reminded that counselling was inappropriate to the situation and normal relations would soon return. There was also some difficulty in keeping extensive notes during informal times and during physical training periods. Being female presented circumstances a male researcher would not have experienced. But this was, after all, an individualized experience, not absolutely reproducible. That is, rapport, confidences and responses are significantly determined by personality, sensitivity, emotional depth, intellectual capacity, ability to recognize and counter one's own projections, awareness of ethical issues, and ability not to under- or over-identify. These traits will vary with each researcher and each population of subjects.

Therefore, in recognizing these limitations, what was lacking in design was compensated for in long-term familiarity. Also, supplemental data, collected by such means as content analysis, extensive formal and informal interviewing, and a number of social-psychological instruments (See Appendix B), were expected to be useful in lending support to the qualitative data.

The first phase of the data gathering process involved extensive interviewing of top administrative officials. Questions addressed departmental policy, structure, and practice, as well as idealized conceptualizations, aspirations, and ambitions. Specific information about daily job requirements was gathered by visiting Troops and riding with Troopers on patrol. This also facilitated the development of exploratory questions to serve as guides during the training period. Training staff administrators and instructors were also interviewed during this time, as well as recent graduates and veterans.

The second phase of data gathering was during the 20 week recruit training program. Trainees numbered fifty-four, and were overseen by five instructors and three program administrators. The role of trainee was adopted with minor modification to allow for extensive notetaking and a proper liaison with the administration and instructional staff. During this time, documents were also collected for later content analysis. Several questionnaires and scales were also administered. These included: the General Well-Being Index, the Spence-Helmreich Attitude Toward Women Scale (short form), the Minnesota Survey of Opinion (short form), Srole's Anomie Scale, and Dean's Alienation Scale.

The third phase of data gathering began after the recruits' graduation, upon assignment to a Troop. A sample of graduates was chosen which included the female graduates (N = 6) and a representative sample of male graduates (N = 6).

The original proposal included spending several days on the road with each of these subjects, but permission was rescinded at the last minute (see Appendix A). Participant observation was replaced by interviewing. Also, the number of sessions was increased, as well as the number of persons interviewed. While the sample remained the focus of investigation, corroborative data was needed to replace what would have been first-hand observational data. Several reliable informants were recruited.

Additionally, several tests were administered to assist in determining their levels of job satisfaction (Brayfield and Roth), employee satisfaction (Morse), and group dimensions (Hemphill) (see Appendix C). Since the conclusion of the data collection process, contact with the female troopers has been maintained, as well as with other informants. This has allowed for an updating of the outcomes and consequences of situations which directly affected the subjects as recruits and probationary troopers.

Finally, throughout this entire period the strictest degree of confideniality was required. There was always an atmosphere of tension and a fear of repercussions from those who considered dealing with an "outsider" to be reprehensible.

4. Background

4.1 Occupations

Idealized conceptions of an occupation are mental images of what a job should be, what type of person should hold such a job, and what behavior should be expected. By having and projecting such an image, occupational recruitment, socialization and control can be more easily managed. Images embodied in legendary figures, such as Florence Nightingale, Clarence Darrow, and Vince Lombardi, or media heroes, such as Marcus Welby, Lou Grant, and Mary Tyler Moore, serve to attract potential recruits, and offer a model for incumbents to emulate. Accouterments such as symbols, slogans, ranks, and equipment can also incite interest, allegiance, and conformity.

Images are perpetuated and/or modified to prevent or treat occupational strains. Sources of strain may be external or internal to the organization. The more stressful the occupation, the more idealized, or exaggerated, the conceptualization is likely to be. Community relations may be improved by the link to the occupation created by glamorized media portrayals of jobs. Intraorganizational changes may be facilitated by image modification. And image can serve as a tool for indoctrination during training, a period typically fraught with strain. Thus, image operates through anticipation, transformation and inculcation.

Agents of conceptualization include those who define and redefine, and those who transmit. Defining agents would typically be senior administrative

officials, persons with the ability and the authority to turn their perceptions of reality into definitions. Transmitting agents would include recruiters, selection board members, instructors, and those who emulate the image.

Utilization of image, or idealized conceptions, results in greater homogeneity in an occupation. Internal desires to perpetuate the organization without change, and external pressures from colleagues, lead recruiters and selectors to seek individuals whose attributes are consistent with the existing organizational membership, as perceived. Applicants must convince these gatekeepers that they are already similar to, or are able to learn to be like, those already on the job. For those who make it through this culling process, the socialization, or training, process will involve no less of a demand for conformity. In fact, the purpose is to impart to the novice the occupational norms which are expected to be observed. This results in the development of a personal identity intimately linked to an occupational one. The internalized conceptions of the occupation become manifest in overt behavior which communicates to others the nature of the occupation as well as the individual. If one lacks the necessary resources to adopt the occupational identity, and fuse it with the personal, occupational exclusion becomes the reality. Status inconsistency, or deviance, and the ensuing dissonance, are organizationally undesirable, therefore exclusion is viewed as legitimate.

Any inherent occupational contradiction, or the discrepancy between idealized occupational definitions and actual job requirements, is likely to begin to materialize, or to be clearly observable, during the period of transition from novice to practitioner. The existence of such a discrepancy supports the argument that if there is a weak relationship between selection criteria, the training program and the job, then those persons who were excluded, at any state, may not have been deficient, or unsuitable, after all. It is more likely that the definition of the occupation is inappropriate. This addresses the problems of employment discrimination and minority integration differently than the current approach, which still prefers to re-socialize than redefine.

4.2 The State Police

History

On May 28, 1903, the   State Legislature passed a bill to create a State Police Department to assist in the investigation, detection, and prosecution of all criminal matters which fall within the purview of the officer making the request for assistance. Requesting officers were defined as the Governor, the state's Attorney General, or legally appointed prosecuting officers. The motivating factor behind the bill was the desire to

provide the State's Chief Executive Officer with a police arm empowered
to enforce various statewide regulations. Warranting this special effort
were the suppression of commercialized vice, particularly violations of
liquor and gambling laws, and the investigation of fires of suspicious
incendiary origin.

Given the strong spirit of local autonomy present in the state in 1903,
the new state controlled bureau was meant to strengthen and supplement
local police departments where they were weak, but not usurp their function.
Supporters of the bill contended that the department would pay for itself
many times over from the collection of fines and the forfeitures of bonds
from prosecutions.

After passage and enactment of the bill, management of the new department
was given to five appointed Commissioners, well respected men from various
parts of the state. Their first action was to select a Superintendent and
Assistant Superintendent, and draw up a set of rules and regulations defin-
ing the duties of the new officials and providing for the government, disci-
pline and efficiency of the new department. The criteria for that first
Superintendent were that he be an honest, judicious, and capable man, who
would not be perverted in order to satisfy the objectives of a political
machine. The ensuing rules and regulations amounted to little more than
the number of policemen needed and the salaries to be paid to department
members. Policemen would number not less than five and not more than ten,
each to be appointed by recommendation of the Superintendent. The first
five were hired on October 19, 1903, with three more hired by the end of the
first working year. Financial matters were viewed with caution. The
Superintendent was salaried at $3000, his Assistant at $2000, and office
help was not to exceed $2000. The policemen were paid $3.00 per day, usually
working six, but sometimes seven, days a week. In addition, they had to
provide their own "uniforms" (blue clothes with brass buttons) for state
occasions, and work in their personal clothes at all other times.

Intent on being well informed, the Commission ruled that no one would speak
about departmental affairs to the public without the authorization of the
Commission. This seemed designed to provide the public with the proper
image, but it also raised the question of why they did not welcome public
scrutiny if they deemed themselves above reproach.

The General Assembly also set requirements to guarantee the faithful per-
formance of duty by departmental members:

1. all members of the department were to post a bond;

2. anyone accepting a gift would be fined $500 and/or jailed for six
   months, and be fired;

3. authority was limited by geography and substantive jurisdiction;

4. all members had the same power with respect to criminal matters and the enforcement of laws pertaining to liquor and gambling as police were allowed to exercise in their own respective jurisdictions;

5. when not engaged in specific work, they were expected to prevent crime, preserve the peace of the state, and secure the detection, arrest, and conviction of offenders.

Though mainly created to combat liquor offenses, the wording was construed as a means of expanding their functions when and if social conditions might warrant such expansion.

Division of power was clearly stipulated. The Superintendent had direct and immediate control, but the ultimate reserve of power was the Commission, which could remove and replace personnel.

In 1903, the population of the state was 908,420, so an eight man force was clearly too small to have much of an impact. Other early disadvantages included unreliable transportation (foot, horse, horse and buggy, trolley, motorcycle), loose organizational supervision and no direct supervision. Communication amounted to a weekly written report, from the policeman to the Superintendent, stating briefly his daily business. At the end of the first year, however, they had a notable showing of activity - 415 cases, 313 of which were prosecuted.

In 1905, the State Police were given the responsibility and authority to investigate suspicious fires, and in 1911, they were assigned to investigate and enforce motor vehicle law. Four motorcycles were issued at this time, and in 1918 they received Model T's.

During the years from 1921 through 1942, the State Police saw reorganization, growth, and technological advancement. A formal training program was instituted. The first class of fifty men attended for three weeks and were taught physical training, motorcycle riding, and discipline. A Commissioner of State Police was appointed to replace the five man Commission overseeing the department. Five sub-stations, or troops, were established in the corners of the state to protect access into the state.

By 1927 the force had grown to 100 men, and 1932 saw the entry of women. They served as matrons, and were required to be registered nurses. In 1937, a permanent training facility was opened and used until 1971. In 1939 the first FM 3-way radios were introduced. This resulted in an increase in efficiency and effectiveness due to the ability to respond more quickly.

During what are referred to as the War Years (1942-1953), responsibilities increased. Because of the perceived possibility of enemy infiltration, the

State Police increased their activity along the shoreline. Persons outside
of the department (e.g., Coast Guardsmen) were given State Police powers
to assist the Troopers. Workdays averaged eleven hours, totalling a sixty-
six hour work week. Towns contracted with the State Police to have a
Trooper permanently assigned to them. And by 1953, teletype communication
networks had been established among the local towns and throughout New
England.

Today, the force is approximately 900 sworn personnel, and the organiza-
tional chart on the following page shows the degree of bureaucratization
which has taken place since 1903. The State Police working out of 12
troops are now responsible for 1000 miles of limited access highway and
8000 miles of state roads. 85 of Connecticut's towns have their own muni-
cipal police departments, but the remaining 80 are served by the State
Police on a $35 million budget (1980-81).

Occupational Framework

The goal of the organization, as stated by a top administrative official,
is "the efficient and effective delivery of police services which requires
organization within the department. We define this as a group of people
organized to accomplish a specific goal with a formal structure and chain
of command. The responsibility of each level is established and has auth-
ority." A request for elaboration brought forth the explanation that "a
formal structure means a 'line' which directly performs primary tasks of
the department, and 'staff' which administer or service the department by
'span of control', or the number of men a supervisor can effectively super-
vise. It works by having 'unity of command,' which means only having one
boss to report to."

Touting themselves a "paramilitary force," the State Police utilize rank and
accompanying insignia similar to that found in the Armed Forces: Colonel,
Lt. Colonel, Major, Captain, Lieutenant, Sergeant, Detective, State Police
Woman, Trooper, Resident Trooper, and Trainee. Since the Detective and
State Police Woman ranks (N = 9) are no longer being hired, "enlisted ranks"
actually amount to Sergeant and Trooper. Uniforms are identical for all;
some duties, however, do require plain clothes.

The division of labor corresponds to the rank hierarchy only at the top.
The Commissioner holds the highest office, assisted by an Executive Officer.
Commanding Officers head the Bureaus and Divisions, and Field Commanders
manage the Troops. Smaller sections vary in status, therefore some are
supervised by Troopers, others by Captains. As might be assumed, those
positions perceived as having greater prestige are occupied by persons of
greater rank. Frequently, such perceptions shift with time and available
personnel.

June 1, 1981

of more steadfast nature is the chain of command rule of communication. The
flow of information travels down the chain in the form of orders, up the
chain in the form of reports through immediate supervisors. Deviation from
this route occurs in face-to-face settings on the basis of personal
relationships and informal custom.

Idealized Conceptualizations

Like other bureaucracies, the State Police Department is formal, rational,
centralized, and utilizes idealized conceptualizations of role performance.
Their occupational definition, however, is more exaggerated than those found
in most occupations. The basis for this increased idealization are said to
be more stressful work conditions associated with law enforcement in general
(Seyle, 1978). Such conditions would include rotating shift work, long
working hours, constant fear and anticipation of danger and death, daily
interaction with seamy individuals, actual confrontations with injury and
violence, as well as prejudice, suspicion, and hostility from the public at
large, and the frustrations of the role within the criminal justice system,
that is, feeling continually thwarted in their efforts to enforce the laws by
the courts and the corrections department.

Perceived strains specific to the State Police involve external pressures to
operate on an insufficient budget, to integrate minorities to a greater
degree, to improve public relations which have been poor since the 1960s when
police generally were known as "bullies" and "pigs," and to repair a
reputation damage by errors made in a major murder case in the 1970s. Receit
internal strains include a shortage of personnel, widespread demoralization,
a lack of career advancement opportunities, a controversy over promotion
policies, and growing hostility between "labor and management."

The idealized definition espoused by the State Police does not include a
legendary figure to emulate, although the television show Barney Miller and
Joseph Wambaugh's books and movies are thought to be realistic by veterans
and rookies alike. Television viewing is the most highly ranked pastime, and
a lice and recue shows are the preferred programming. Most of those by a
viewed described such shows as entertaining due to the (vicarious)
satisfaction they felt when "the good guys won," and the "excitement of the
action." Some even expressed a sense of relief in watching fights and chases
after they "had put in such a boring day."

The dominant image of this organization is reflected in the use of uniforms,
guns, cruisers, ranks and a quasi-military structure, which has served to
preserve uniformity, if not soladarity, in light of recent strains. The core
of the professed image of Trooper, however, seems to involve the inherent
possession of certain personal attributes, such as physical strength,
aggressiveness, courage, emotional detachment, decisiveness, the ability to

charge, and the ability to be a good team member. Military experience is considered by most to be a significant indicator of qualification. Higher education, on the other hand, is not believed to be significant or necessary, except by a few.

An ideal conception would be perpetuated primarily by senior administrative officials, such as the Commissioner and the Executive Officer, through the policies they set addressing recruitment selection, training, and field operations. Policy enactment is the arena in which verbal claims are supported, obstructed, or rejected. Determining the degree to which policies adhered to mandates any verbal proclamations, and the degree to which policies were implemented by subordinates was a major task of this project. The pressure to integrate women into the organization required a review of the idealized conception that "police work is man's work." The attributes thought to be fundamental to role performance were attributes thought to be possessed primarily, if not solely, by males. Resistance to image modification would violate federal mandates. Adherence to idealized conceptions would likely result in a discrepancy between what the job was thought to be and what the job actually is.

An examination of each policy area was conducted to determine the points at which adherence, obstruction or disillusionment occurred. Equally important was how these responses were managed. Possibilities included acceptance and adjustment, sublimation, and rejection and withdrawal. Attrition rates may be influenced by factors other than dissatisfaction, but an examination of who leaves, and when, was expected to further illuminate the importance of the discrepancy between ideal and real role definitions. High rates of social and medical problems, such as divorce, coronary heart disease, emotional disorders, suicide and substance abuse clearly reveal that stress is an ingredient of police work. However, the sources of stress that have been conventionally identified, usually do not include the possibility that selection and training procedures may not be germane to actual role performance requirements. Such a relationship was expected to, and did, materialize in this study.

4.3 Women in the State Police

Women have traditionally occupied positions in police work. They have been hired as clerical workers, switchboard operators, dispatchers, and policewomen. In that there were female prisoners and female victims, the job of policewoman was created as the only "decent and moral" way in which to serve their needs.

Until 1976, females employed by the State Police were known as policewomen, and performed duties distinct from male Troopers. As an occupational subdivision, they were responsible for dealing with women and juveniles. Cases typically involved interrogating rape and child abuse victims. Policewomen

wore civilian attire, worked weekdays, and were on call for night and week-
end emergencies. They did not patrol the highways or rural towns. There
was approximately one policewoman assigned to each Troop, with a few regional
floaters. They totalled less than twenty on a force of nearly eleven hundred.

When federal law prohibited gender based job classifications, the job of
policewoman was phased out. Any woman who wished to be employed by the State
Police had to apply for the position of Trooper.

Although there have been hundreds of applicants over the years, there had
never been more than five female Troopers on the road at any given time.
Both the attrition and the turnover rates of the women have been high, and
considerably higher than males, but the only explanations offered for this
entail an emphasis upon gender differences. Such explanations imply that
women do not possess the abilities needed to perform police work. In the
1960s, however, the President's Commission on Crime recommended subordinating
strength·and aggressiveness (presumably male qualities) to emotional stability,
intelligence, and sensitivity to minority problems. Also recommended was
the elimination of the height and weight requirements which were typically
barriers to female employment. In the 1970s, the Police Foundation conducted
research which concluded that women would bring stability to police work,
reduce violence, increase crimefighting, and improve public relations.

Women's chances of recruitment, selection and succession, however, are
clearly influenced by beliefs about women and beliefs about the job. In that
beliefs about the job of State Trooper are consistent with beliefs about what
women are not, the lack of female Troopers is logical and probable. The
argument, however, is subject to question. If women are excluded on the basis
of not possessing characteristics thought to be, but not, necessary for the
performance of the role, then the exclusion may not be viewed as legitimate.

In addition to problems of entry, other formidable obstacles and inter-
actional dilemmas faced by female Troopers have been isolation and hostility
from supervisors and coworkers who resent their presence, uncooperative
behavior from the public, an informal occupational social system that ex-
cludes them from significant communications and sponsorships, and situations
which place them in roles eliciting stereotypically female behavior.

Few organizations have resisted the integration of women more vigorously than
police departments. When the 'affaire d'honneur" was lost on legal levels,
it continued, nevertheless, on organizational, informal and interpersonal
levels. When a group is threatened with change, such as the State Police,
its culture becomes internally and externally exposed (Hughes, 1958; Kanter,
1977). The arrival of outsiders (women and other minorities) forces group
members to recognize and acknowledge aspects of their common bond which could
previously be taken for granted (Moore, 1962; Grusky, 1964). In a law enforce-
ment setting, where habit rules (Wilson, 1973), such self-consciousness is

GAS PUMP

Running Track 1/5 mile

INStr oN RM

CAFETERIA

KITCHEN

AUDITORIUM

LOBBY

ACADEMY CO's OFFICES
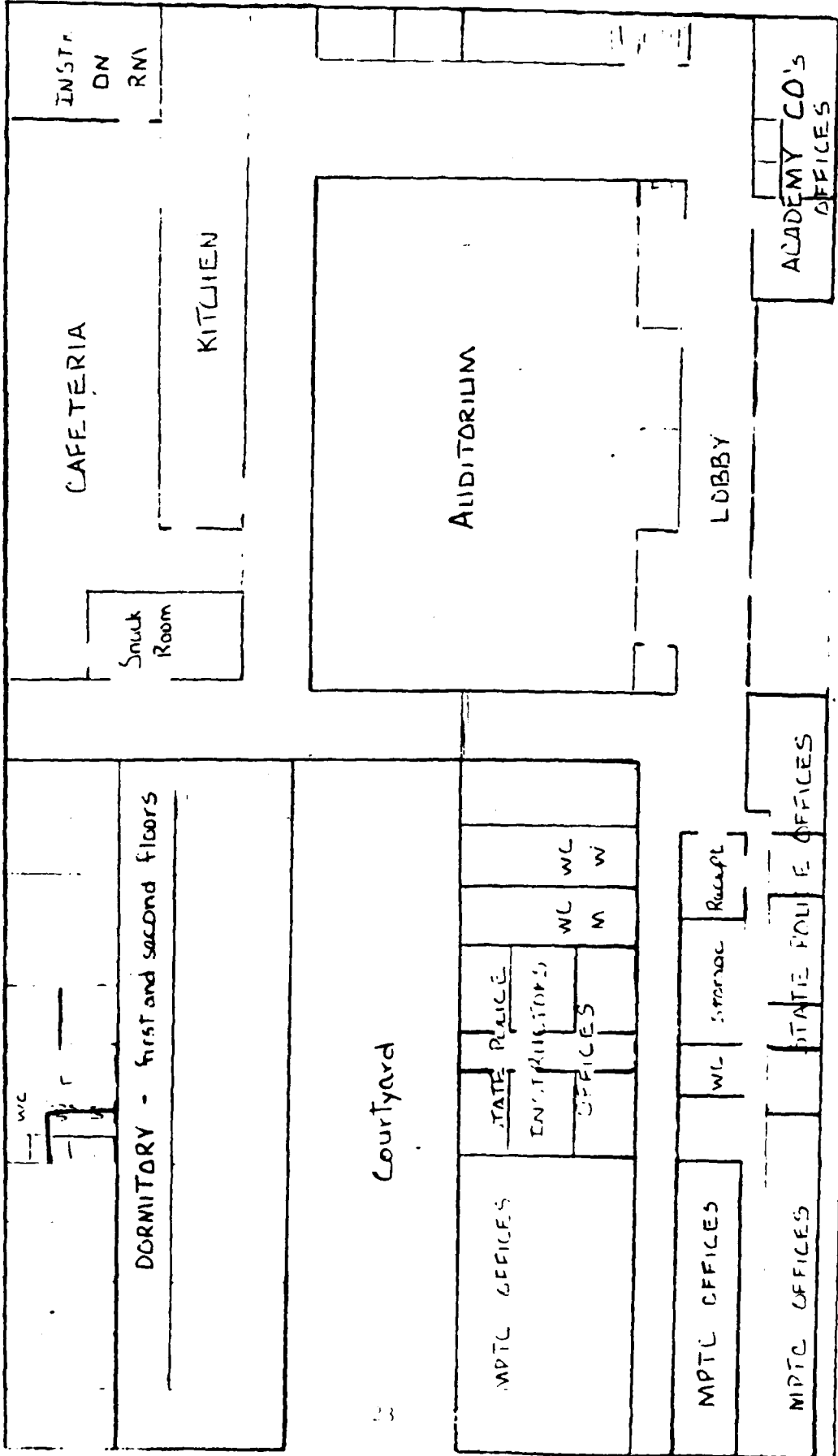
POLICE ACADEMY (ground floor)

PARKING LOT

Snack Room

DORMITORY - first and second floors

WC

Courtyard

STATE POLICE INSTRUCTORS OFFICES

WC WC
M W

MPTC OFFICES

WC Storage Recept

STATE POLICE OFFICES

MPTC OFFICES

MPTC OFFICES

* 1st floor over critical wing - classrooms
2nd floor over lobby and CO's offices - library

discomforting. Being faced with new, non-structured, non-routine events (being "backed up" by a woman, for example) exacerbates the discomfort (Thompson, 1969). For smooth interaction, members need a shared vocabulary of attitudes (Mills, 1953). A familiar image provides just that. Introducing the unfamiliar elicits negative responses based on fears of what this implies for their occupational role, the norms of police work, the division of labor, the informal cohesiveness, the shared definitions of masculinity, the social prestige, and, ultimately, their own personal identities. The base provided by the intersection of occupational and personal identities supplies a stronghold for defense against challenges to the job, and by definition, to the manhood of the male Troopers.

The exaggeration of image occurring within the State Police, as a result of forced changes was expressed in greater emphasis upon strength-related capacities, such as hand-to-hand combat. This emphasis would be expected in light of studies which show that women in police work perform better than men in areas such as report-writing (therefore a greater court conviction rate), defusing potentially violent encounters, and motor vehicle operation (Sichel, et al, 1977; Charles, 1977).

The "combat mentality" also has a long history. The reality of police work has been carefully hidden from the public and denigrated by Troopers. Although requests for service are the most frequent and most common daily occurrence, crime-fighting is purported to be their primary activity. It remains salient for its dramatic and symbolic value. It is visible and publicly valued. Awards banquets can be held, with tributes and backslaps bestowed lavishly. After all, the apprehension of a criminal is associated with danger, bravery, and heroism, thereby making police work a man's work.

5. The Work Place

5.1 The Training Academy

In addition to the issues of employment equity and gender integration, police training warrants attention with respect to the type of worker sent out "into the streets." The very existence of a training program implies that the selected candidates are not yet ready to assume the responsibilities of police work. At the Academy, they are taught about the organization, what their role will be, and how they will be expected to perform it.

Physical Plant

The Police Academy is shared by the State Police and the Municipal Police Training Council. The latter conduct 10-week training courses throughout the year for local police department recruits. A State Police officer, however, is the Director of the Academy, as well as the Director of Training for the State Police. As can be seen from the diagram on the following page, the

facility provides all services for the recruit class during its 20-week residential program. The second floor of the dormitory wing housed both male and female recruits. The bathroom was subdivided so that during the day the men and women each had their own toilet and sink facilities, but in the evenings, special hours were designated for segregated shower usage, since the shower was located in the women's half. Sam -sex rooms were shared by either two or three persons, each room having beds, two desks, two closets and a sink. There was also a laundry room on the floor, and a private room and bath for the duty officer's overnight accommodations.

The cafeteria served three meals a day. Exceptions were no breakfast on Monday and no dinner on Friday. The Snack Room was "open" to State Police recruits only after the last evening class and until 10 p.m.

One classroom on the second floor was used for all classes. Next to it was the only bathroom in that wing, and it was designated for men. The physical training room in the basement was used for physical training and defensive tactics classes during the day, and available for recreation at night if a trainee had any free time. Half of the room was covered with floor pads; a partial Universal Gym took some floor space in the other half.

Administrators said that this total institutional approach to training was intended to free the trainee from all distractions in their personal lives so that they could devote all their attention to their studies. That it was a time-honored method of stripping away old habits (psychological and occupational) so that they might be replaced by new ones was denied. There can be no doubt, however, that such an environment made trainees highly vulnerable to mutual socialization pressures and mutual reinforcement opportunities.

The Staff

Administration of the training program was the responsibility of the Academy CO and his executive officer, a Captain and Lieutenant respectively. During this session, however, the Lieutenant played the primary role of supervisor and decision-maker. The Captain was typically busy with other Academy business and special assignments from the Commissioner. He delegated his authority for training to his Exec, and apparently afforded him great trust. The Lieutenant had, in previous years, been the Academy CO himself (as a Sergeant), and knew the "routine" well. The basic curriculum and training methods had not changed in 15 years. In addition, the Lieutenant taught the Defensive Tactics course. Except for during this class, however, his presence among the recruits was infrequent. The day-to-day monitoring was conducted by a Sergeant, whose title was Recruit Training Coordinator. In addition to reporting to the Lieutenant, this Sergeant taught Physical Training (every day) and was the ultimate disciplinarian. When in the presence of a recruit, or the whole class, his behavior was loud, aggressive, and frequently, crude.

There were seven instructors, of Trooper rank, on permanent assignment to the Academy. Two were responsible for two courses only - Personal Health and

Crash Injury Management. The former course addressed stress, nutrition, exercise and swimming. The latter was a fifty hour course leading to a certification as an emergency first responder. One instructor was a registered nurse (male), the other was studying for a degree as a physician's assistant on his own time. The remaining five instructors taught the remainder of the required courses. Two were newly assigned to the Academy, only a few weeks prior to the start of the session. As with all instructors, they were sent out of state to another State Police Academy where they attended a two-week "how to teach" course. From all reports, this course emphasized the maintenance of classroom discipline, and the observance of lectures presented by the out-of-state instructors. Considerable time was also given for the pursuit of athletic pastimes.

Of the five instructors, two had college degrees. One had taught in grammar school for a year prior to joining the State Police, the other had two year's experience teaching junior high school. None of the instructors had any formal training in education, police training, public speaking, or any other area which might be considered relevant to their jobs. There was no formal or objective criteria used for selecting instructors. When a position was open, usually due to a promotion, an announcement was sent out to all troops. Anyone of trooper rank interested would submit their name and be interviewed. Sometimes the applicant would be asked to deliver a short lecture. The final decision was made by the three Academy administrators, each of whom may not have seen all of the applicants. The choice was made on the basis of who was most well liked. No objective attributes or skills were ever offered when questioned about what constituted being "liked."

There was one female instructor. With so many women entering this class, it was decided by the Commissioner that a female role model was needed. Grievances brought by male applicants for the position, who believed this was discriminatory (since she had been on the job only 2 1/2 years), have recently resulted in her being reassigned to a troop and replaced by a male, though not one of the former applicants.

Finally, all but three of the ten training staff members had spent five to ten years at the Academy, which amounted in all cases to over half of their State Police careers. Because of their distance from field work, regular hours, clean environment and light work load, they were the objects of criticism by their peers in the field. This is believed to have been a significant factor in their hard-line, aggressive, and rude behavior, and crude language.

Curriculum

The following list of courses provides an outline of the instruction provided during the 20-week training program. It was believed that such a curriculum would provide the recruit with the skill, knowledge, and degree of proficiency needed to perform their jobs well upon graduation. A passing grade was 70 out of a possible 100.

Accident Investigation (Motor Vehicle)
Boxing
Come-Along Techniques
Crash Injury Management
Criminal Investigation
Criminal Justice System
Defensive Tactics (Karate)
Disarming Techniques
Firearms
Handcuffing Techniques
Interpersonal Relations
Judo
Laws of Arrest
Military Drill
Motor Vehicle Law
Orientation
Patrol Techniques
Penal Code
Personal Health
Physical Assessment
Physical Training
Police Driving
Removing from Vehicles
Riots and Civil Disorders
Search and Seizure
Use of Baton
Water Safety

While some of these courses are self-explanatory, others are not.

Boxing - was not intended to teach boxing skills, but to provide an opportunity to demonstrate one's level of aggressiveness. There were two sessions during the first two weeks. Opponents were matched by height and weight. Some of the larger women boxed men. Protective headgear was used. Twenty pushups and twenty situps were required before each bout as warm-up to prevent injury. Anticipation among the trainees ranged in expression from tension to fear, with most of the women experiencing diarrhea and vomiting before and after each session. Casualties incurred broken noses, fingers, and ribs. During each bout ridicule was used by the referee as a means of eliciting greater aggression. Afterwards, trainees were told that the class would view the videotapes before the second session so that they could make a greater effort "to not look like wimps the next time." These tapes were not seen, however, until the sixteenth week, and not for the purpose of instruction, but humor. Interviews with the staff brought forth adamant statements that there was an "acceptable level of aggression necessary for police work," but no one was able to identify, operationalize, or measure that level.

<u>Come-Along Techniques</u> - involved a three hour class demonstrating ways to escort individuals who are using passive or minor resistance to authority. The session began with an explanation for using such technique, (bent wrist, bar hammer lock, and two finger/two knuckle some-alongs)

1. "I hurt my back having to lug off one of those (expletive deleted) hippies and it wasn't worth it."

2. (Shown a newspaper clipping of a New York "sit-in" with policemen carrying off demonstrators). "We look like fools doing this."

<u>Criminal Investigation</u> - In addition to the fundamentals of collection and preservation of evidence and the rules of admissability (search, sketch, photograph, fingerprint, plaster cast and interrogation), other topics were included in this Course

> Forensic Lab
> Major Crime Squad
> Autopsy (field trip)
> Sex Crimes
> Narcotics
> Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS)
> Child Abuse
> Organized Crime
> Report writing

<u>Criminal Justice System</u> - included two field trips to Superior Court for a mock trial, and to hear the closing statements of an actual trial. While introduced as a course to learn the structure and requirements of the State's Judicial System, the greatest amount of time was spent in discussing how the prosecuting and defense lawyers fail to uphold the diligent efforts of the police. In this vein, time was spent teaching the "proper courtroom conduct, so essential for creating the proper image when testifying," and the types of tricks to expect from the defense attorney.

<u>Disarming Techniques</u> - one hour spent demonstrating and practicing how to distract someone who is pointing a gun at you.

<u>Handcuffing</u> - three hours of simulation, with two trainees at a time taking the roles of arresting officers and one pretending to be a fleeing felon. Each of the eighteen sets of players had three minutes to subdue and "cuff" their prisoner. Instructions were to employ the tactics learned to date and only use "50% power." Casualties incurred included scratches, bruises, broken fingers, torn tendons, pulled muscles and a dislocated knee (when the 200 lb. felon threw the 100 lb. "cop" against the wall) The matching of contestants, the lack of control during the contests, and the angry lecture, afterwards, about being "ungentlemanly wimps" seemed to

indicate that the violence was desired by those conducting the class, and supported by those viewing it.

Interpersonal Relations - the course was taught by the only non-white member of the staff. It was intended to explain prejudice and discrimination as they affect the law enforcement officer and the general public. The first class engaged in a discussion of gender differences, which resulted in an uncontrolled shouting match between trainees on a personal level. By the end of the class, the hostility among trainees was evident, the course was held one more time with similar consequences, and then cancelled.

Orientation - was an effort to introduce recruits' families to the State Police. The first session, during the fifth week, included speeches by Administrative Officials, a tour of the Academy, and dinner. The theme of the second session, during the thirteenth week, was Safety. After dinner, several recruits put on a demonstration involving judo and defensive tactics. The final session, during the eighteenth week, was for married recruits. There was a dinner and a discussion of police marriages, their potential problems and solutions. Attitudes towards these orientation sessions were ambivalent. On the one hand, they were a welcome break from the routine; on the other, they were occasions filled with the pressure of "performing" for their families in front of their superiors, and hoping their families would 'measure up'. There were great let-downs for many after these visits, as well.

Physical Assessment - these tests were administered every five weeks. The purpose of the "program" was said to "encourage physical fitness which, in turn, will: 1.) reduce emotional and nervous tension, 2.) control body weight, 3.) reduce susceptibility to common injuries, such as back muscle injuries, 4.) reduce degenerative heart disease, and 5.) reduce general phys- ical deterioration. The units measured and rated were: height, weight, body fat composition, hand grip, number of pull-ups, pushups, and bent-knee situps. Agility run, jumping stretch and extended reach, and a 1 1/2 mile timed run. The tests were the "program."

Physical Training - This course is designed to develop basic lifetime skills required for good physical health. It presents the philosophy and basic principles of physical conditioning, an exposure to fundamental con- ditioning procedures on a gradual increasing basis, and focuses on cardio- respiratory fitness and muscular endurance. In reality, it was 1 1/2 hours per day of calisthenics and running (approximately 45 minutes of each). Four times during the 20 weeks pulse was taken before, during and after a run. There was no conditioning on a gradual basis, and the class attitude was that "after graduation we'll build a bonfire of our running shoes."

Riots and Civil Disorders - one day was spent watching films, handling antique and foreign grenades, and watching an explosive demonstration put on by the Bomb Squad, a second day was spent "experiencing" tear gas and other chemical agents.

Water Safety - even though it had been legally determined that swimming could not be considered a requirement for graduation, taking the course was required. Three of the five scheduled sessions were held. As an introduction to the course, the class was told that they'd "better be able to swim, because a Trooper's wife had died when no one knew what to do." The non-swimmers were given two lessons. no tests were given and the course was cancelled because of unexpected scheduling problems.

Teaching Technique

As has been stated previously, attention must be paid to the manner in which police personnel are trained. What type of method best allows an organization to develop within its employees the necessary skills and abilities to satisfactorily perform their jobs?

The teaching style exercised at the Police Academy was a traditional one. It was characterized by a one-way transfer of knowledge in the form of facts from instructor to trainee. Through the lecture/note-taking process the trainee accumulated a large quantity of information. Rote memorization was the only way it could be handled. The major defect with this approach is that it tends to emphasize absolute solutions to issues and problems based on the memorized materials. This eliminates any careful analysis of the many dimensions and alternative decisions which are characteristic of police work. Intellectual rigor and abstract thinking are not emphasized. therfore frequent trouble dealing with situations in which concrete solutions cannot be provided beforehand are likely to occur.

Also, the traditional approach does not motivate students to learn. They become bored listening. struggle to memorize. and forget rapidly. There is, as a result. little or no comprehension or application.

The above-described approach is intended for use with children, hence its name-pedagogy. Adults learn through a different process, by different techniques - andragogy. Adult learning is delineated by:

1   becoming a self-directing person.

2   experience is a major resource. always present and growing.

3   learning is oriented toward a social or occupational role.

4   there is time perspective - immediacy of application. not storage. and.

5   focus is not subject-centered, but problem-centered. or goal oriented

Teachers in an andragogenous system are defined as facilitators and resource persons in the process of inquiry. They manage, or guide, the learning process, as opposed to managing the content of learning. This creates a learning climate, both psychological and social, which is cooperative and non-threatening. Individuals tend to feel more committed to something in which they have had the opportunity to participate, and in which there has been involvement in the planning. Adults are also more motivated to learn those things which they need to learn and will lead to satisfactory job performance. Diagnostic exercises, conducted at the start of the program, to identify the various skills and deficiencies in the class can facilitate the effective usage of trainee resources, as well as identify potential problem areas.

Andragogical techniques include some traditional practices, such as lectures, assigned readings, and audio-visual presentations, but rely most heavily on participatory events which tap the trainees' experiences. These include group discussions on decision-making topics, such as the use of force or high-speed pursuit, role-playing and simulations in areas such as crisis intervention, interviewing, search and seizure, or use of firearms, and team projects, such as crime scene preservation and investigation, motor vehicle accident investigation, or mock trials. In these ways the energy of the novice and the veteran performer are utilized to everyone's advantage. Everyone in a group will have something to contribute, be it skill or perspective.

Because the major portion of the Trooper's job is relatively unclear and thought-provoking in nature, pedagogical training, with its emphasis on the absolute, is not a viable base upon which to build a training program. Training, in this case, has ignored the aspect of discretion. The word was used continually in the classroom, but the trainees were not given the tools with which to use it. They were not trained to handle the types of situations that require analysis and innovative approaches, such as domestic disputes.

The consequences of using a pedagogical approach in this training program were that trainees with no prior police work experience found themselves ignorant and fearful in new situations in the field. Trainees who had previously been police officers relied on their prior work experience and regarded the Academy as "simply paying my dues."

Evaluation

Trainees were evaluated in each class by multiple choice and fill in the blank tests. A 70% score was a passing grade. The tests come strictly from the notes which were mimeographed sheets on which the trainee filled in the blanks as the instructor lectured (read the notes). While this is in keeping with a pedagogical teaching style, it does little to determine what the trainee really knows and can apply to a real situation. If written or oral

examinations are deemed necessary, then essay questions, at the very least, would provide a more accurate reflection of the trainee's skills. Essay questions elicit conceptual explanations and illustrations. Oral presentations perform a similar function, as well as reveal the trainee's ability to communicate, a tool as critical to job performance as any other.

Recruit Profile

Fifty-four recruits reported to the Police Academy on the first day of the training program. There were 13 white females, and 9 black, 2 Hispanic, 2 American Indian, and 28 white males. Their ages ranged from 21 to 39 years, with the average age of 28 years making them the oldest class to date. Five of the women were over 30, and 14 of the men. Two of the women were married, and two had children (one was a single parent). Twenty-six of the men were married, thirteen with children. The following table shows the educational levels attained by the class, subdivided by gender.

TABLE 1

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

	Female	Male
High School	4	13
Some college	3	14
BA/BS	6	10
Graduate School	-	2 (MA degrees
Other	-	2 (Law school, 2 yrs. each)

All but six of the trainees were in some way "familiar," or thought to be by the Selection Committee, with police work because of their prior work experience.

Police Officers	19
State Police Auxilliaries) Security Guards) Protective Services) (all trained by SP)	11
Law student	1
Fathers are/were police officers	6
State employees with links to SP	4

Military Service	6
Firefighter	1
"unfamiliar"	6

Forty of the trainees knew personally someone in the State Police, and the other fourteen had contacts with municipal police officers.

Answers to the question of what motivated them to apply to the State Police varied only slightly for males and females.

Female responses:

enjoy police work	enjoy investigating
interest in child abuse	interest in law
like working with teenagers	"always wanted to be a cop"
non-traditional	wanted to be in a "good"
interesting	police unit
respectable	change
challenge	self-respect
personal satisfaction	self-confidence
useful service	like working with people
upward mobility	good pay

Male responses:

opportunity	career advancement
return to home state	interest
this State hires people	worthwhile
over 35 years old	help people
better pay/benefits	variety
prestige	"always wanted to be a cop"
most professional	enjoy outdoors
department	challenge
most elite	decision-making
chance to specialize	change of scene
reputation	

The following table shows the changes in personnel status by gender and racial designation over the course of the training program.

TABLE 2

PERSONNEL STATUS CHANGES by gender and race

| | FEMALE | | | | MALE | |
	White	Black	Hisp.	A.I.	White	Total
Hired	13 (100%)	9 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	28 (100%)	54 (100%)
Graduated	6 (46.1%)	7 (78%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	21 (75%)	38 (70.3%)
Resigned	2 (15.3%)	-	-	-	-	2 (3.7%)
Fired	5 (38.4%)	2 (22%)	-	-	7 (25%)	14 (26%)
After graduation						
Rehired	1	-	-	-	6	7
Total % **Graduated**	53.8	78.0	100	100	96.0	83.3

The two women who resigned did so voluntarily during the third and fifth
weeks. One cited excessive pressure and an expectation of failure. The
other, a single parent, was unable to resolve a child care problem. Of the
five women fired (one in the seventh and four in the fourteenth weeks), three
brought a lawsuit. One of these women sought reinstatement and settled out
of court. The other two are seeking a large monetary settlement and a formal
change in the State Police policy regarding the treatment of women during
training. The final two cited humiliation and exhaustion as their reasons
for not fighting what they did, however, believe to be unfair terminations.
"I simply couldn't go through that all over again."

Six of the white males fired brought a lawsuit against the department. Train-
ing officials were implicated in the wrongdoing and improper firing proced-
ures were cited. The parties settled out of court. The six men were rein-
stated and later graduated. One black and one white male have "accepted"
their terminations. One black male is pursuing, in an undetermined manner,
some form of compensation. His name has been linked to the women's lawsuit.

Recruit Class Structure

In order to "properly supervise, counsel, and divide the labor," the recruit
class was divided into five platoons of eleven persons each (fifty-four re-
cruits plus one researcher/recruit). Each of the five instructors was
assigned as a "counsellor" to a platoon. Periodically, at their discretion,
they would hold personal interviews with their "counsellees" to "see how

34

things were going." Little was accomplished at these sessions, however, since the class was strongly informed on the first day that "you were to resolve your own problems or get out," and "stoolies were not tolerated."

Each platoon was commanded by a recruit "sergeant" on a two-week rotating basis. The class as a whole was led by a recruit "lieutenant." These ranks were assigned by the Training Class Coordinator and an instructor, as were the initial platoon assignments. Through informal conversations with these men, it was determined that the assignment decisions were made on a personal basis--who they believed would be "good" in the position relative to the conditions of the period. For instance, after a period during which the class exhibited great solidarity, a lieutenant was chosen whose attitude and demeanor would create divisiveness. Class solidarity was frowned upon when present, and encouraged when absent. When pulling together, the recruits were told that they couldn't stand on their own two feet; when there was discord, they were called lazy and undisciplined.

It was also acknowledged "off the record" that the platoon assignments were made on the basis of those who were thought to be "interesting combinations of people." Two platoons were composed of ten aggressive and athletic men and one small woman each. The other platoons had three or four women each. Seven of the ten lieutenants were chosen from the two predominantly male platoons, as well as six of the men who were fired. Roommate assignments were changed approximately every six weeks and three rooms were always occupied by some combination of the same eight men.

The platoon system was also utilized so that recruits would become familiar with the chain of command. Any communications (questions, requests, or reports) travelled up the chain from recruit to platoon sergeant, to Training Troop Lieutenant, to a Trooper (Instructor), to the Sergeant (Training Coordinator). Orders travelled down the chain in the same way.

The primary responsibility of the platoons was the completion of daily work assignments. Actually they were cleaning duties--the bathrooms, the "gym," the classroom, the staff's cars, and the hallways. Each platoon worked one detail for a two-week period. Inspections were held every morning between 7:30 and 8:00 a.m. Also included in the inspection were rooms, and personal appearance. Demerits were given for anything found unsatisfactory by the inspector (which ever instructor stayed over the previous night). Standards varied with each inspector and there was always something wrong.

The work details also varied in the amount of work involved and the time of day it was performed. Cars were washed and vacuumed at lunch; the gym was scrubbed with ammonia and swept after 10 p.m.; the classroom could be swept, straightened, and the blackboards washed after the evening class (usually 9 p.m.); the hallways were done in the morning before and after breakfast; and the bathrooms were done in two parts--after 10 p.m. the shower area was sanitized so that it would be dry by morning and could be buffed for streaks; in the morning, toilets were cleaned, mirrors were shined and the floor was

vacuumed. Sinks in the bathrooms were taped off and never used in order to reduce the work load. The morning cleaning was done after breakfast, so recruits had to use other toilet facilities. The only one available to the women was off the first floor lobby and it took four weeks to secure permission to use it. During those four weeks considerable discomfort was experienced by all the women, the effects of which were felt all day.

Daily Schedule

The days at the Academy were remarkably alike with respect to the scheduling of events and the emotional atmosphere at any time during the day. Any departure from the routine was perceived as a welcome relief, regardless of any associated costs.

The day would begin at 6 a.m. with washing, dressing and straightening one's room. Most recruits avoided bed-making, since they were not issued rulers to measure the sheet foldover, and did not wish any demerits. Instead of sleeping in the bed, they would sleep on top, using a spare sheet smuggled in from home as a covering in the cooler weather.

At 7 a.m. platoons would "fall in" for breakfast, which was typically eaten in a hurry in order to be back upstairs in time, and ready, for inspection. Inspection usually took fifteen minutes. By 7:55 a.m. the class would once again "fall in" by platoon to go to the classroom. Classes involving no physical labor were held from 8:00 to 12:00. Lunch covered the next 45 minutes, but the amount of time one had to eat varied by platoon. Car washers were at the head of the line, followed by the other platoons in numerical order. The last platoon usually stood in line for 25 minutes before reaching the food line, leaving little time for relaxation or normal consumption. Fast eating soon became the norm, as did indigestion.

Afternoon classes were held from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. Physical training began at 4:15. Some days classes would end at 3:00 p.m. to make time for an additional physical activity, such as use of baton, or defensive tactics. Physical training, or P.T., began with 45 minutes of calisthenics, and ended with 45 or more minutes of running. The running track became the arena in which an effort was made to show that women did not belong in police work. It was the one area in which they did not perform with the same speed, or, therefore, the same distance. They were constantly ridiculed, criticized, and demeaned by both instructors and peers. The tension was exacerbated by 90° temperatures for the first three months. Sweatsuits were required for the first six weeks.

After running, the class went straight to dinner. During the first few months, half of the recruits would simply drink liquids and eat jello or ice cream. Soaked with perspiration, out of breath and physically limp, they sought to revive and leave, in order to get out of their wet sweatsuits. Men and

women alternated taking showers first each day, until the women suggested that they go straight to the showers while the men began eating. After several more weeks the suggestion was approved, but was rescinded when the weather became cooler.

The evening class began at 7:00 p.m., and usually ended at 9:00. From 9:00 - 11:00 students were "free." During that time they had to type, in regulation form, all the notes given in class that day, study, and attend to any work details. There was little or no time for socializing or recreation. Many of the men, however, took time to use the weights in the gym, and some of the women would return to the track in an attempt to improve their running. Lights were turned out at 11:00 p.m.

Just as the class schedule was consistent, so were recruit moods. In the mornings, people were generally short-tempered. They expressed concern over never waking up feeling rested. The classroom routine of lecture and note-taking added to the ever-present fatigue. Drowsiness was especially evident in afternoon classes until 3:00 p.m., when it was replaced by tension and anxiety over what might happen in P.T. that day. Evenings brought exhaustion and depression. Conversations were fraught with complaints. Many trainees had difficulty sleeping, and it was not uncommon to see Nyquil being taken just before the lights were turned out. Its 12% alcohol content and other chemical substances were believed to be sleep inducing.

Though varying only slightly, depressions were more visible on Monday and Friday mornings. Monday saw their return from two days at home, and the only spark of life was their curiosity to see if anyone had decided to drop out. Friday's anticipation of release was dampened with the thought of the dismissal inspection, which typically lasted until 7:30 or 8:00 p.m.

The daily routine offered a form of stability, in spite of its anxiety-producing nature, in an otherwise unstable environment. Trainees feared flunking out up until the final two weeks. They were never sure if the standard set yesterday was still in effect today. Only one of the instructors was considered to be reliable in relating to trainees in the classroom, on the running track, as a counsellor, or an inspector. And the "facts" which they were memorizing never seemed to make the transition from one class to the next. But they knew that they would be doing sit-ups at 4:30.

5.2 The Field

Responsibilities in each of the twelve Troops around the State vary by geography and economic status. Major highways run through some territories, an international airport is the sole responsibility of one Troop; and rural towns with few financial resources rely on State Police protection. Because of these types of variations, the work of some Troops is predominantly high-way patrol, while other's is investigations.

Each "barracks" is commanded by a Lieutenant, who is assisted by an Executive Sergeant. Daily supervision of police work is handled by three to six Sergeants, one of whom may be the Coordinator of any Resident Troopers in the territory. Each of the Sergeants is responsible for approximately ten Troopers. The number may vary according to current staffing levels. For several years the Department has claimed a "severe shortage of personnel." There is also a Criminal Investigation Unit at each barracks. Staffed by a Sergeant, two Troopers and a State Police Woman (SPW), who are responsible for conducting investigations of long duration, or of a more serious nature than would fall within a Trooper's range of abilities.

Patrol functions are conducted around the clock with three 8 hour shifts. Patrols, or specific geographic areas, are assigned to each Trooper by seniority in most Troops. During the shift, the Trooper is expected to drive around the patrol area, responding to specific locations and events when notified by the radio dispatcher. Those on Highway patrols are also responsible for citing improper motor vehicle usage, helping disabled motorists, tagging abandoned cars, securing and supervising accident scenes, and investigating accidents. Troopers with town patrols perform similar functions plus respond to "house calls," such as domestic disputes, bar brawls, burglaries, assaults, etc.

The majority of time on any given day is spent driving and waiting. Boredom is the major complaint. One of the biggest problems cited by supervisors was keeping the Trooper on the road. They were continually returning to the barracks for gas, or a pen, or a form, and would stop frequently for coffee, or to use a bathroom. In all cases, conversing with another person seemed to be the goal. Boredom and loneliness seem to stem from a reactionary approach to police work. No one could define their job as other than answering calls. The Trooper did not have work to do, only work to wait for. The waiting and the physical isolation contradict the conceptualization of police work as action-and-people-oriented. The daily reality is inconsistent with the selection criteria, such as dragging 150 lb. bodies over walls, and running 6 minute miles. It is also inconsistent with courses stressed at the Academy, such as Judo, P.T., and Boxing.

The major complaint of the supervising Sergeants was the inability of most Troopers to do their paperwork. Major steps would be left out of investigations, reports were not written properly, and there were no sanctions which could be employed by supervisors to elicit appropriate behavior. Before authorizing a report to be sent to the Records Division, or the Courts, a Sergeant would frequently have to return it to the Trooper for corrections. Omissions and errors in these documents reflected conceptual problems, as well as an inability to write. Similar problems occurred in verbal communications as well. Altercations with motorists, poorly conducted interviews yielding insufficient information, and the insensitive handling of victims are some examples.

Problems such as these, which more often than not go unaddressed as a result of frustration with, and surrender to, a system which lacks organization, only worsen with time. "Monday morning quarterbacking" becomes the norm, and disenchantment with reality grows. Reliance on idealized conceptualizations also grows, further denigrating reality. Relationships with similar people are sought and cliques form. Informal norms come to predominate. Personal identities take over where an occupational one should operate.

Without specific work goals, without detailed job descriptions, and without strong norms and sanctions, the expectation for productivity, and efficiency is remote.

II. DEFINITION OF THE OCCUPATION

1. Occupational Conceptualizations

The work of the State Police, according to the majority of departmental members interviewed, was "keeping the streets clean." Explaining that statement, or one similar to it, was very difficult for these men and women. "Locking away society's dirt," "making the streets safe," "fighting for law and order," and "fighting crime" were the most frequent elucidations. During the early stages of interviewing it was learned that slogans and cliches were the major means of communication utilized on most occasions. While tone of voice might change according to the status of the listener, form did not. Short, clipped sentences reflected similarly structured thoughts. Images of life, work, and people were black and white. In presenting conceptualizations of what the job should be, what type of person should hold the job, and how the job should be performed, it needs to be emphasized that the speakers are the products of their work system, as well as workers in it. Through the psycho-structural process of depersonalization, employees become the objects of their own labor. By acting out what they want their job to be, rather than accepting what it is, they create or maintain a system always at odds with the individual, and individuals at odds with themselves. Never finding themselves in positions of success, efforts to erase disillusionment increase, and blame is placed elsewhere. Stereotyping and exaggeration are plentiful, thereby widening the gap between the real and the ideal, and between the police and other groups.

Life is viewed as dangerous, undependable, and disrespectful. Reasons cited for such a negative view were high crime rates, low conviction rates, liberal thinking and "an erosion of the moral fiber in this country." Responsibility for this state of affairs was placed with politicians, students, minorities, the press, and the general public.

> "Politicians can't be trusted; they won't help you unless it's politically convenient. And those bleeding-heart liberals make life miserable for the rest of us."

> "Students don't have any respect for the law, they're only concerned with not getting busted for drugs."

> "Black organizations are anti-police."

> "The press distorts the truth; they always use humiliating pictures of us."

> "You're there to help people, but you always need a witness so they don't turn around and hurt you."

> "You put your life on the line for people who don't care."

The perception of ever-present danger is paramount:

> "You _always_ have to cover your ass, because when you're least expecting it...that's when it's gonna happen."

> "Relax your guard and lose your life."

> "You must make suspicion a condition of habit."

> "Never look at the routine routinely."

> "Females are the worst. They hide weapons in their vaginas. They look all innocent, but you gotta cuff em."

> "Be prepared for the one time that counts."

> "The chances of anything happening are nil, but...."

When comparing loss of life with other occupations, police work (33 deaths/ 100,000) ranks below mining (94/100,000), construction (76/100,000), agriculture (55/100,000), and transportation (44/100,000). Five Troopers had been killed "in the line of duty" in the past fifteen years. All were in motor vehicle accidents. When questioned about their own experiences with danger, all respondents said, "Well, I've been lucky."

A statistically small number of Troopers were said to be responsible for the majority of felony arrests. This is due to the organizational struct- ure. The Detective Division, staffed by approximately ten men, handled all major crimes. Personnel assigned to troops were not likely to face criminals in the course of their normal day, yet they spoke as if it were not only inevitable, but imminent.

> "You pull over a speeder and he could have a gun, maybe just robbed a bank, or be a pusher. You just never know."

> "These dark country roads have all kinds of nuts on 'em."

> "You're a cop, you're a target."

Feeling preyed upon was not only a physical sensation. There was also a belief that they were the objects of ridicule and criticism. The Courts fail to uphold their efforts, defense attorneys publicly challenge their testimony, and "the public thinks we're violent; we're not, we're _peace_ officers!"

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Interviews with recruits revealed similar perceptions and beliefs about their future work. 70% of the female recruits, however, felt that danger would be minimal. Only a few male recruits, who had no previous police work experience, and no close relationships with police officers, similarly expressed minimal concern for personal safety. Interestingly, after six months on the road, these same recruits still felt that the perpetual references to danger were exaggerated.

Holding such a conceptualization of State Police work, it was believed that only a very special person could handle the job.

> "We need the best and most highly qualified people; we've got a reputation to maintain."

> "We're the most elite team of professionals in the East."

> "We're the finest State Police Department in the country."

> "Second to none."

The qualities sought by administrative officials in candidates, and thought to be necessary for successful performance, were "maturity, competence, correct predispositions, certain values, the ability to use deadly force, the acceptance of personal risk, high regard for authority, and a military bearing." There was great resistance to further operationalization of these traits, and written documentation was never presented. Initially, the only statements volunteered about qualifications were that the candidates be "healthy and smart." Finally, it was acknowledged that there was a conflict between what were felt to be requirements, and what could be proven to the government to be requirements. Also, officials did not know how to measure traits such as maturity, aggression, daring, toughness, confidence, and self-reliance. Statements regarding who was not an acceptable candidate were more readily forthcoming, but no more operational. Whereas administrators had once been able to rely on gender and physical stature as indicators of potential, as well as subjective evaluations, they now faced a legal and conceptual dilemma.

The source of the dilemma is rooted in two beliefs. First is the unyielding conviction that only policemen can understand police work, and second is their insistance that as upholders of the law, only they should be trusted to make the decisions about who to hire and how to behave. In other words, it is their desire to have the stature and privilege of a self-governing profession.

Administrative and field personnel alike refer to their occupation as a profession. Justification for their claim rests on the following criteria:

> the ork is of broad public concern, it involves privileged information, standards are constructed and maintained internally, there is a code of ethics, colleagial groups supervise, evaluate and license members, there is a training period, there are high admission standards, and, there is pride.

Whether these criteria are valid or reliable has little import. Objective standards are meaningless if they go unrecognized by the membership. What is significant is that the members of this group believe themselves to be a profession, and call themselves a profession. Subjectively, it connotes prestige and value.

In their minds, the professional image has two components. First is physical appearance. Uniforms, polished brass, military centers, shiny shoes, and short haircuts are required.

> "You must look the part."

> "This sort of appearance projects authority, and confidence."

> "You'll go to an emergency and be able to take charge."

Second is the moral component. A clean appearance is linked to respectability. Such a look will be interpreted as "pious, conventional, virtuous and honorable." To be professional, one must also set a good example at all times. One must radiate integrity.

> "That's the type of person who enters law enforcement. That's the person we're looking for."

On the administrative level, the public did see clean, shiny, short-haired polite men. In the field, uniformity was absent. While respect was typically paid to those who occupied positions at the top, those in the field frequently queried:

> "How can you be a professional if people spit in your face?"

One veteran responded:

> "The only place you're a professional is in your head, and in the fantasy you create with the guys you work with."

This belief, however, was not commonly held. Commonly held were the ideas that brute strength, physical stature, and an aggressive presentation of self were necessary for policework. While it was admitted that occasions requiring these traits were infrequent, it was strongly felt that anyone lacking these traits should not be "allowed in."

> "I'm not gonna get killed, or get my ass kicked, because some wimp is my back-up."

> "Until a woman can press 300 lbs. like a man, I'm not gonna let one back me up."

An unskilled or inadequate "back-up" was the most frequently mentioned worry of the men interviewed when the topic of female Troopers was being discussed. The women worried that no back-up at all would arrive when they were in need. Yet there was no discussion of, or concern about, the ability of male colleagues to provide protection to other males, regardless of their race or size. This may be attributed in part to the attitude among the men that they wear sidearms for use, not decoration.

> "They didn't give me this gun so my kids could be orphans."

> "Why do you think they give you a gun?"

> "I'd have a gun even if I weren't a cop."

> "The best defense is a .357 offense."

Initially, the female recruits were less than pleased about carrying a gun. They each spoke of it as a necessity, and felt they would "probably never have to use it." In the event they did, they presumed it would be a situation of enormous peril, and a case of self-defense. Towards the end of the training program, however, several female recruits began to speak of the weapon as a deterrent by virtue of its presence on their hips. A few, on the advice of male Troopers, ordered black handle grips "in order to give the thing a meaner look." They were also quite stimulated by a newspaper article, anonymously tacked to a bulletin board, which reported the exoneration of a New York City policewoman for excessive use of deadly force. In this case, it was decided that due to the woman's size, in comparison to that of the offender, the use of her gun was appropriate, even though the details of the case would not normally have warranted such use. To the female recruits, the decision said that there was no reason why they shouldn't be "out there," and no reason for the men to be worried, or resistent.

It is interesting to note that at the start of training, the women believed police work to involve virtually no danger, but midway through, they began to show some concern for personal safety, although it was still a minimal

amount compared to the men. Many of the male recruits spoke of nothing but the dangers they anticipated, and their preparations for such events. Precautions meant carrying more than one weapon, and possessing a mental state of "readiness to kill." Shotguns, blackjacks, small, thus concealed pistols, knives, and mace were the typical unauthorized (except for the shotgun), extra weapons. Being prepared and ready to kill were considered the necessary posture for survival on the job. There was no expectation on the part of most male recruits, no testimony to, on the part of Troopers, and no training in "gentle persuasion." There was no exposure to, or practice in, verbal reasoning, or more simply put, talking. The pervasive conceptualization was of a police "man" entering a situation with the "appearance of authority," commanding everyone's respect and obedience. If this didn't happen, "he" would physically take charge, and use whatever degree of physical force was deemed necessary by him.

Given this image, it is not unexpected to find resistance to women or an organizational structure lacking articulation. With a history of the administrative hierarchy always rising from the ranks, it can be expected that organizational policy and procedure (structure) will be reflective of historical posture and practice. In other words, there will be an attempt to preserve the traditional ways of thinking, working, and behaving. If one has been taught to perform in a certain way, has performed that way for a number of years, and been rewarded, then one is likely to make decisions on that basis when elevated to a position of authority. Resistence to change could be attributable as much to a lack of exposure as to a "prejudicial" attitude. That same lack of exposure could also result in a naive approach to the management of a large bureaucratic organization. Such is the case with the State Police.

In conceptualizing themselves and their work as "unlike any other people or jobs," they remove themselves from the mainstream of both social and organizational life. They deny themselves access to the tools or methods of management which are so necessary to efficiency and productivity. Time is spent maintaining, or perpetuating, the conceptualization and as the membership drifts further from "reality," as the gap widens, greater efforts are required. When the "outside world" does enter the domain, there is severe stress to preserve that which is desirable, and to exclude that which is inconsistent with the image.

The formal structure of the State Police reflects a concern with image and a lack of concern with organizational specificity. Hence, work is not the product of institutional effort, but a by-product of institutional existence.

2. Organizational Structure

Speaking from a sociological perspective five components of organization are considered necessary for a collection of people to constitute a group. If any one of the components is missing, or inadequate, a degree of anarchy will exist. Regardless of the size of the collectivity, a lack of order will result in a lack of production, be it of goods or services.

Bureaucracies are typically the most formally ordered groups in society. Components are expressed in minute detail, with each level requiring this specificity in order to manifest itself properly. At the top of the elemental order is a formal purpose for existence, the goal(s) to be attained. From this declaration all other directives flow--what jobs (roles) need to be performed in order to achieve the goal(s), how each job is to be performed (rules), sanctions (negative and positive) to insure compliance with the rules, and a ranking of the jobs according to their relative importance to goal attainment, and each other.

In that there has yet to be a consensus as to what constitutes the police function, all police departments are likely to experience some degree of anarchy. If they are unable to conceptualize the real parameters of police work, and set realistic, attainable goals, then even the semblance of an organizational structure will not yield service. A unique feature of police departments, however, which is typically not shared by "civilian" businesses, is the public's perception that they literally "cannot live without the police." With such a mandate, a collectivity, calling itself a profession, can survive even the greatest amounts of chaos, inefficiency and impotence, whereas another business would collapse.

Such has been seen to be the case with the State Police. On paper they are an organization. In reality they experience gross inadequacies with respect to goals, job definitions, a normative structure, and sanctions. Their idealized conceptualizations inhibit organizational, or structural development; the consequential "system" causes the illusions to be perpetuated; and so the cycle continues.

The expressed goals of the State Police Department have changed little since 1903. They are still said to be "the provision of police services to the people of the state, the investigation of fires of suspicious origin, and the assisting of local police departments upon request." Nowhere, however, are police services defined. An 85 page document entitled State Police Department Rules and Regulations General Orders is the only official source of specific organizational structure. Nowhere does it mention goals. One must extract, from the listed duties of the offices included in the document, what constitutes police service. Such an extraction suggests that the agency responds to, and processes, criminal activity. It does not imply any other orientation, such as crime prevention, or public education, nor does it offer any indication of the scope of the operation.

The allocation of roles, or the division of labor, is a product of the Department's response posture, and its need for maintenance. Slightly more than 30% of the approximately 850 jobs are designated as patrol--although there is no mention of this in the General Orders document. The only place

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"Trooper" is mentioned is in a section called Order of Command, where the military ranks are listed and their insignia described. Another 18% of the allocated jobs supplement the criminal response section. They process crimes by means of special investigations, collection, documentation, and preservation of evidence. Included in this section are the act'·ities of the Fire Marshall's Office, which range from issuing liquor licenses and raffle permits, to state building and boiler inspections, to arson investigation. Nowhere is this Office or these activities identified, however.

The remaining half of the Departmental personnel are utilized in administrative functions. These include operating the motor pool, maintaining and installing radio equipment, quartermaster, maintaining physical plants, negotiating fiscal/political matters, managing internal labor relations, training new or auxilliary personnel, maintaining records, reporting to the media, and supervising personnel. Only a few of these offices are identified, however, in writing. And in those sections where supervision is listed as a responsibility, there is no mention of the work that these personnel are supposed to do.

The normative structure addresses many areas, such as the uniforms, vehicles, correspondence, and care of prisoners, but a search of agency documents did not produce any job descriptions, any criteria for job selection or promotion, or any orders for the conduct of daily patrol or investigative functions. Individuals in all levels have their own "standards" for performance, or "activity," their own beliefs about what it is they are supposed to do. The following example of an occurrence at one of the Troops during the research period would be reflective of the agency as a whole. Troopers at this barracks worked autonomously on a daily basis. At the end of the month, one platoon sergeant reprimanded his Troopers for their collectively, and individually, "low productivity" for the month. In his opinion, they had not issued a sufficient number of summons for motor vehicle violations. This was the only platoon so charged, although the five others had similar records. The Troop Commanding Officer, however, disagreed. The activity level "was the same as everyone else's," so it was all right in his opinion. The Division Commanding Officer concurred. Two weeks later, when the reports reached headquarters, the Division was reprimanded for low activity levels. But the other two Divisions in the State, also with similar records, were commended. There is no consistency within platoons, within Troops, within Divisions, or within the entire Department on an official, or formal, level. The conduct of affairs is left up to the individual. This practice is known in the Department, and promoted at the Training Academy, as the use of discretion. Such "discretionary powers" are highly prized and protected (defended) by departmental members. Most of those interviewed said that it was this aspect of the job which made them apply.

"It's like not having a job."

"You go to work every day, but you do what you feel like, what you want to do that day."

"Nobody tells you what to do, you're on your own."

The discrepancy between the intended use of discretion and the actual interpretation and usage is apparent from these comments; the lack of structural parameters facilitates this circumstance.

A few commented that what they initially believed to be "freedom," they now view as a burden.

> "When I go out and do something on my own, I never know
> if it will be considered right by my Sergeant, one day
> it is, the next day, it's not. And if you get a new
> Sergeant, you have to learn all over again..

> "Unless you see eye-to-eye with your supervisor, you
> really have no discretion."

> "You decide to give somebody a break on a (motor vehicle)
> summons and you're told not to go easy on them; then you
> pinch someone for drunk driving, and you're accused of
> being hard. You just can't win. No one agrees on any
> thing."

These statements also exemplify the lack of structural parameters. Consequently, without explicit norms, or formal rules, there can be little expectation of formal, or enforceable sanctions. The two forms of sanctions addressed by the Rules and Regulations document are awards and disciplinary action. Awards are bestowed for acts of bravery involving risk to life; honorable mention is an acknowledgement of a service rendered. Occasions warranting disciplinary action comprise a more lengthy list. Forty-nine offenses, including insubordination, neglect of duty, chewing gum or smoking in uniform, inefficiency, and conduct unbecoming an officer, may result in a suspension, a demotion or a dismissal. During the research period, there was one suspension, which was reversed, no demotions, and twelve dismissals, all of which were reversed. The original action was encouraged in these cases because of public attention. The reversals occurred in out of court settlements; no explanations were available. Many more offenses reportedly occurred on a daily basis throughout the twelve Troops. When queried as to why no action was taken the following representative responses were offered:

> "Why bother, they haven't succeeded in punishing anyone
> yet."

> "He didn't mean to do it, he's really a good cop."

> "If we charged everyone who did something wrong, there'd
> be no one left to work."

> "The rule is ridiculous, everybody breaks it."

> "If I take action against someone, I'm the one who'll
> suffer. They all do it, so they let everyone else get
> away with it. If you break THAT rule, then you'll be
> on the outside, looking in. No friends, no support, no
> promotion, no nothing."

On the surface, it seems ironic that an organization which is given the
responsibility of enforcing the rules of order for society should lack a
sense of order itself. Beneath the surface, however, is the implication
that those who are chosen to perform this duty possess the inherent quali-
ties to conduct themselves properly, without supervision and without
suspicion. A by-product from the original statute, the process of select-
ing "honorable" men has undoubtedly changed since 1903, although the
underlying assumption has remained. Also withstanding time, has been
the practice of maintaining a distance and silence from the public. Such
segregation has resulted in incestuous management practices and retarded
growth. An examination of observable roles shows limited relationships among
most, with minimal direction toward an expressed or quantifiable end. These
relationships vary, as well, according to who occupies the position, and in
what degree of personal regard they are held at the time. Few occupants
have any formal training in the management of business, finances, people,
or police work, but most occupants do share the ideology. Thus, without
strict structural parameters image remains the organizational adhesive.

3. Administrative Policy

3.1 Recruitment

The strength of the State Police force is authorized by State Statute and
can be modified by the Governor as deemed necessary. During the research
period authorized positions numbered between 900 and 950. These positions
are allotted according to rank, e.g. 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 3
Majors, etc. The variations occurred when the State Police requested addi-
tional positions for Majors, Captains and Troopers, rather than using
existing vacancies for which they planned to recruit Troopers alone.
Trooper strength was still "down" by 50 at the time the recruit class
(N = 54) entered in June, 1980. The selection process for that class had
taken one and a half years, therefore the "personnel shortage" was expressed
as "a long-term crisis."

"Federal interference" was given as an explanation for the prolonged prob-
lem. It was said that changes were being mandated which "no longer allowed
for the normal recruitment effort." Concern over equal employment oppor-
tunities had prompted an examination by the Justice Commission of the

minority composition of the Department and its recruit classes. The overriding implication was that previous efforts had been unsatisfactory and a major attempt to attract minority candidates must be made. There is no evidence, however, that any special attempt to attract candidates was made. For example, it was the administration's claim that in the past "no good minority members had applied," but the administration also acknowledged that they made no appeals directly to any minority groups. There were no speakers sent to high schools or colleges, there were no advertising campaigns to inform people about the Department, or to encourage applications. The only public notice was the advertisement placed in the state's two major newspapers by the State Department of Personnel, announcing that an examination would be given, and to inquire by a certain date. This information was presented along with several other state jobs in the same block ad. Approximately seven hundred and fifty people responded. After that, the job became one of selection.

3.2 Selection

The first step in the selection process was the administering of a general examination by the State Personnel Department. The Department would not provide a copy of the exam, but explained that "it measured general intellectual achievement, just like a college entrance exam." From interviews with the recruits, it was determined that at least half the test consisted of multiple choice questions pertaining directly to police work. For many this was unexpected and an area with which they were totally unfamiliar. Scores over 65, out of a possible 100, constituted a passing grade, and were sent on to the State Police Selection Committee.

This committee was composed of three persons appointed by the Commissioner. There was one white female, one black male Trooper, and one white male Trooper. Interviews with each indicated that none had any special preparation for the position, or prior experience. Furthermore, while they were familiar with the traditional battery of tests to be administered, they were given no formal criteria with which to work, no objective measures with which to distinguish the qualified candidate from the unqualified. It was decided, though, that there would be three evaluation lists, one for white males, one for females, and one for minority males. After the rankings were determined in each category, the top candidates would be chosen to comprise a class of 50% white males, 25% females, and 25% minority males. It was believed that such a composition would satisfy all external mandates.

The first step of the departmental selection process was an "essay test." It consisted of one question. "Why do you want to be a Trooper?" This test was conducted by mail, and there was great reluctance to discuss its evaluation. Finally, it was said to be "a tool to weed out the non-serious candidates and the nuts." No one would reveal the number of people excluded at this point, but four hundred showed up at step two.

This next test was administered to measure "physical agility." Included were situps, pushups, pullups, an obstacle course, an agility run, and a one and a half mile timed run. Candidates were told to do as many situps, pullups and pushups as they could in one minute, and to run the courses as fast as possible. Performances were then ranked by number and time within each list. No one would say on what basis the number of candidates was then reduced to one hundred and fifty. No indication was ever given as to the number of voluntary withdrawals during the eighteen month period.

Step three involved "oral boards," or personal interviews. The panel would query each candidate as to their backgrounds, motivations, and expectations. Once again there was no evaluative criteria, or any documentation of the questions asked. Interviewers indicated that they "could tell if the person was the type being sought." Most of the recruits indicated that their initial nervousness was quickly put to rest as the conversations dealt with topics such as hobbies and recreational interests. The candidates did not merely pass or fail this "test," however; they were once again ranked. This would appear to have been done, by all accounts, on a subjective basis.

The next "test" was the polygraph or "lie detector" test. Once again, no one would produce the set of questions administered. Interviews with officials yielded no more than "we used a standard polygraph exam; things like name, address, age, whether they had ever committed a crime or been in jail, stuff like that." Two of the members of the committee acknowledged their absence from these proceedings, and said that they saw the list of who had passed and who had failed. Interviews with recruits yielded some additional information. After the "standard" questions mentioned above, they were asked about their marital status, the quality of their marriage, their sexual preference, their sexual habits, and their experiences with drugs. All of the women indicated that the interviewer "seemed to have a real thing about lesbianism." They also indicated their own discomfort with the test.

> "I was afraid my anger at being asked that stuff would register as a lie, so I just answered them."

> "What do sexual positions have to do with being a policeman, or with being honest, for that matter?"

> "I've never been so humiliated in my life."

> "If that was some kind of a trick test to test something else, then it ought to be made illegal. It was disgusting."

> "I was warned they'd ask me about sex, but I never expected anything like that."

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Several of the black male recruits said that they were asked a dispro-
portionate number of questions about drug usage. Most of the white, male
recruits expressed no dissatisfaction with the test, although some admitted
being surprised at questions regarding their marital fidelity.

After the polygraph test, approximately one hundred candidates were sched-
uled for physical examinations at the State Health Department. The physi-
cals were designed "to eliminate candidates with problems which could
interfere with their performing the necessary duties of Trooper." The only
examples offered were high blood pressure, and impaired vision (not
correctable to 20/50). The examination consisted of a blood pressure
reading, listening to the heart and lungs with a stethoscope, visually
examining the ears, nose, and throat, and an eye (chart) test. Though the
procedure took only fifteen minutes, most candidates waited for 2-3 hours
for their "appointment." Several, who were rejected for high blood pressure,
stated that the wait made them nervous and upset, thereby elevating their
blood pressure. They have since brought individual lawsuits against the
state for not re-examining them when their personal physicians found their
blood pressure to be normal under normal conditions. One of these candidates
was rejected for a reading of 130/85, a rate which many physicians would
place in the normal range. Most of the suits agree that a lack of specific
criteria is the source of the wrongdoing.

The final examination in the selection process was referred to as "background
checks." These were investigations into the personal and work lives of the
seventy-five candidates, and were conducted by the Criminal Investigations
Units at the Troops serving the candidate's residence. There was no check-
list or set of criteria given to the investigators by the selection committee.
It was believed to be unnecessary. "That's what these people do for a living,
we don't have to tell them what to look for." Only one of the committee
members expressed concern, after the fact, that the reports were not uni-
form in content. Some had stressed work records, others had concentrated
on neighborhood reputation, and there were those which simply stated that
"no negative evidence" had been discovered.

From this collage of comments, the committee made its final rankings and
recommendations. Final decisions were made by the committee and the two
top ranking administrative officials. Letters of acceptance were sent out
two weeks prior to the start of the training program. Only one candidate
declined, leaving time for an alternate to be notified.

Thus, the top fifty-four candidates became the fifty-four recruits. Because
the State Police refused to allow an examination of the credentials of
those rejected, there can be no indirect analysis of the vague and somewhat
questionable selection criteria. It must suffice to say that all but a
handful of the chosen were either former law enforcement officers, or the
child or relative of a law enforcement officer, or had prior military ex-
perience. Those who did not bear these credentials, had close relationships

with police officers, especially in the State Police, and firmly stated
that they had "always wanted to be a police officer." The remaining pair,
classified as minority males, indicated that their motivation was the
starting salary, which they considered to be excellent for their circum-
stances. Given this data and the lack of documentation that objective,
standardized criteria was utilized, there is a strong suggestion of sub-
jective selection. The only indicators to hint that, at some point in the
process, there was a numerical ranking procedure were veterans' points and
the minority enrichment effort. The State Personnel Department confirmed
that the veterans' points were added to the initial test scores they sub-
mitted to the State Police. There are conflicting statements, however,
with respect to the "extra points" earned by minority candidates who par-
ticipated in the enrichment program. This was a State Police device to
"take unqualified persons into state service so that they could earn the
extra points necessary for eligibility." These seven men and women were
hired and paid to do odd jobs, some at Troops, others at headquarters.
Only one participant remained in the program, at the time of the final
selections, and was chosen as a recruit. The discrepancy rests with the
statement by Personnel that "neither state service nor law enforcement ex-
perience were requirements or considerations for eligibility. Prior state
service will only be used to determine starting salary, seniority, and
retirement benefits." Selection committee members had neither comments nor
explanations. Some administrative officials insisted that these points
(which were never operationalized) "raised the candidates test scores into
the passing range," and that this was the "only way" they could meet the
quota they had set for minority recruits in the training program. This
would also appear to be the only specific goal of the selection process.

3.3 The Training Program

The 20 week training program, conducted at the Police Academy, was of spec-
ific and documented procedural design. Written objectives for each course,
and a daily/weekly schedule of classes, were available for perusal prior
to the start of the program. However, interviews with the program admin-
istrators, over this three month period, revealed a lack of policy regard-
ing program goals, an inability to show the relevance of certain courses
to the role of Trooper, and an absence of a management plan for the overall
conduct of the program. The only goal was "to graduate all who entered."
On the first day, in fact, the recruits were told that they were the "cream
of the crop", and that there was no reason why all fifty-four would not
successfully complete the program. Beyond that, nothing was said about the
expectations held for raw recruits, the progress they should make over a
period of time, or the potential problems which could arise as a result of
the new recruit demographics.

> "We've been training Troopers for nearly 30 years, and
> as long as they do what we tell them, there won't be any
> trouble. If a person can't cut it, then they don't
> belong in the State Police."

Queries about the principles upon which their course of action was based, drew a single response--discipline.

"If they do what they're told, they'll get through."

"As long as they follow the rules, they shouldn't have any problems."

"If they're having trouble, it's because they're doing something wrong."

When asked about the types of problems experienced in prior classes, the responses were, again, singular in content.

"The only problems were that the selection people mis-judged some candidates and they quit."

This was also given as the explanation for the rate of attrition among former female and male minority recruits. Interviews with several of these people yielded a somewhat different perspective, however. They were of the opinion that many who had withdrawn in the past had done so in response to the ex-cessive physical training demands. Some could not swim, some could not box, some could not run fast, and all were led to believe that they would be fired for these "inadequacies." Rather than face that humiliation, they re-signed.

While the performance objectives for academic courses were clearly specified in administration documents, no documented or consistent set of standards for physical performance was ever presented. Furthermore, in many instances, no relevant connection between the physical activity and police work could be made. Why, for instance was it necessary for a recruit to run a five-minute mile, or, why was it a punishable offense to fail to complete a five-mile run on the second day in 90° weather wearing sweatsuits? It was con-tinually stated that these types of activities were job requirements, yet once out of the Academy, no State Police officer could be required to perform any such physical activity. This was written in the State contract and upheld by the Courts, since recruits were duly hired State employees, represented by the collective bargaining unit, paying dues to the union, and covered by workman's compensation. Nevertheless, there were daily demands for the performance of physical activities which were a risk to their health, which in turn jeopardized their ability to graduate, and had an overall effect of demoralization and diffidence. Departmental posture toward this situation was that until it was challenged in court, the practice would continue, in-cluding the implication that performances of a "certain level" were require-ments for graduation. Challenges were made, over the years, in court, were settled out of court by reinstatements to the next class (for some, this meant a two year wait), and resulted in no policy changes. A current suit, brought

by two women from the 1980 class, is seeking financial compensation ($3 million--"That's the only way we'll get their attention"), and "major policy changes regarding the physical performance expectations for recruits, in particular, women." The suit also addresses selection procedures, academic expectations, peer harassment, course relevancy, and overall discriminatory treatment. These women do not seek reinstatement, but a major overhaul of the system. The research data bears out their claims and concurs with their recommendations.

The problems experienced at the Academy by recruits can be attributed to active and passive mismanagement. The curriculum design created disequilibrium. Emphasis was placed on physical performances, rather than academic learning. Silence as a disciplinary strategy, and a pedagogical approach to teaching denied students the opportunity to practice or experience that which they would be doing on a daily basis as sworn officers. In other words, the approach was theoretical and superficial.

The daily schedule had recruits pursuing tasks for 16-17 hours a day. There was no allowance for mental or physical relaxation, for the digestion of academic material through study, or for socializing with peers. The atmosphere was artificial, exaggerated and negative. Though busy, the recruits were bored. There was a dearth of intellectual stimulation, and a corresponding absence of accomplishment. There were no rewards, no pats on the back, no kind words. The potential for deviance, therefore, was substantial, and it finally took form as personal insensitivity. On the part of the staff, problems were ignored, explanations were withheld, interactions were rude. There was little information shared between instructors and administrative officials, and there were frequent misinterpretations of recruit behavior which resulted in vulgar censures, never to be retracted or corrected. Relations among recruits ranged from disregard to hostility. Most recruits had only one "friend" from whom they received support, and for most, it was not their roommate. Therefore, friendly interaction was infrequent, perhaps a total of thirty minutes per day.

From the beginning, the absence of general policy created an atmosphere of inconsistency, uncertainty, and defensiveness. For instance, there was no orientation session when the recruits arrived at the Academy the first morning. Fifty-four people nervously milled around the lobby for thirty minutes until a Trooper sat down at a table and told everyone to form a line to receive room assignments. Upon completion, the group was taken to the basement where they were shown how to make a bed properly, and how to arrange their clothes in their locker. They were then returned to the dormitory to change into their recruit uniforms, and finally brought to a classroom to "meet" the staff. After hearing descriptions of the staff's "illustrious records", the Commissioner gave a welcoming speech to the recruits. At its close, he and seven of the fourteen "dignitaries" left the room. The recruits were then asked to introduce themselves to those remaining. To

help them overcome any nervousness, there was a set of questions on the black-
board to be used as a guide. The questions included:

    name
    age
    marital status
    residence
    any children
    educational level attained
    schools attended
    prior employment
    hobbies or interests

At the completion of this exercise, the class was taken downstairs to have
identification photos taken. After their turn, they were to return to their
dormitory room and wait. After approximately an hour and a half, a voice
in the hallway bellowed "Fall in." Many recruits, including all of the
females, acknowledged that they had no idea what this meant, and looked out
their doorways in curiosity, rather than compliance with the command. What
they saw was a male recruit, who three hours earlier had been milling about
the lobby, barking out orders at people, while sporting Lieutenant's bars
on his collar and a whistle in his mouth. Presumably, the age and experience
of the other recruits contributed to their initial reaction of laughter.
After a series of unflattering remarks from the new "Lieutenant," silence
and anger prevailed. A comment made later by one recruit summed up the
feelings of all but a few:

    "Why were those two staff members standing there watching
    that ninny strut up and down the corridor for twenty
    minutes, yelling at us, when they could have taken two
    minutes to tell us what they wanted us to do?"

This was the class introduction to the platoon system, the work detail
assignments, and the expectation for personal deportment. This was to be the
usual method for dispensing information to the class. Theoretically, it
resembled that of the agency--downward through the chain of command. Pract-
ically, the structure for its successful realization was not there. First of
all, there was only one time during the course of any day when the platoon
members were assembled together--work details. This period took such con-
centration on the task at hand that there was no opportunity to discuss other
matters. Secondly, no information ever passed down from the staff. In-
structors gave assignments in class, and, in their capacity as counsellors,
held sessions on a one-to-one basis on the evening they slept over as "night
supervisor." It was clear from the start that the administration had nothing
to say to the recruit class, except as a reaction to something with which
they were dissatisfied. Their communicative posture was aloof, reactive,
and negative.

Totally reflective of agency conduct with regard to communication, however, was the burgeoning role of rumor in daily life at the Academy. Despite the lack of association with recruits, the staff could usually repeat recruit comments within hours of their being spoken (though not accurately), and Troopers in the field could do so within two days. This "rumor mill" seemed to exist in response to the rule of general silence during most of the day, the absence of social time, and the inaccessibility of staff members. The need to communicate was present. Recruits had questions for which they desired answers; they sought companionship from those with whom they rubbed shoulders day after day, but from whom they felt isolated. A few words here and there, being passed on as the only fragment of conversation available, were initially used as an emotional life-line. Later, these words would be used to intentionally hurt people, and create distrust among recruits, to instill fear and to promote oneself and at expense of another. Taking the offense in this "game" was objectionable to most recruits, but there was no opportunity for defense.

In the field, the experience was similar. The physical construction of work--being apart from one's colleagues, a car for an office, a constituency which varied from moment to moment, and a two-way radio as "your only link to the world"--facilitated the fragmented flow of information. Having no direct social contact with peers, or colleagues, during working hours generated the need to "impress" one another in the little time there was to interact. Making an impression regularly involved exaggeration in this case, and there seemed to be a thin line between "stretching the truth" and lying. Whether the communique related to one's self or another, to the matter of police work or sexual escapades, the intent appeared to be to make their lives something which they were not, to create a conceptualization where they could not realize substance. Rumor facilitated such fraudulent behavior. The lack of organizational structure, and consequential behavioral parameters permitted it. Learned at the Academy, and immediately reinforced in the field, this behavior pattern became the guiding force, and pervaded other areas of responsibility, as well, including investigations, report writing, and handling of prisoners.

Idealized conceptualizations were not only transmitted to recruits by role models, but were generated by recruits in response to disillusionment and confusion. They provided stability where there was none; they provided reason in an otherwise unreasonable environment. This was the case for every recruit, no matter how divergent their personal idealogy. Each needed to cope with one or more inconsistencies or difficulties. For some men, it was the presence of women; for some women, it was the institutional disregard for learning; for most, it was the adolescent manner in which they were treated.

The lack of policy at the Academy may be explained by the fact that the men who run the Academy and the men who run the Department all began their

careers at the Academy. They have all risen to their positions through the
same process of confusion and disorganization. They have not benefitted
from outside exposure, but have remained isolated within their highly con-
ceptualized environment. And so they pass it on.

III. THE FEMALE/MALE DIFFERENTIAL

1. Attitudinal Variations

1.1 Socialization

Traditional socialization patterns prepare boys for the adult (male) occupa-
tional experience. For women, however, these patterns work against their
smooth entry into, and occupancy of, positions popularly perceived as male.
In this case study, each of the women identified herself as independent,
autonomous, assertive and "fully capable of handling this job." Neverthe-
less, each of these women experienced significant difficulty in the training
program and during their first year in the field. This can be explained,
in part, by the impaired organizational structure of the occupation , which
had a negative impact on male recruits as well.

Additional stressors, however, were experienced by the female recruits, and
it is towards an explanation of this atypical phenomenon that attention is
now turned. In spite of their fervor to occupy a non-traditional role, and
despite any intentions of their early socializing agents, these women brought
hidden liabilities with them to this occupational endeavor. While none
appeared overtly nurturant, sweet, subservient, passive, or dependent
(characteristics frequently associated with the traditional female upbring-
ing), their responses to their new, male environment were very different
from those of their male counterparts. Expectations and appraisals of the
job accentuated the different subcultures from which each emerged. Their
differences in handling similar situations led to misunderstandings and
frustration, not to mention degrees of animosity due to the unwelcome pres-
ence of the women.

The male occupational world contains rules derived, in large part, from
team sports and military experiences. While most little boys grew up in,
or into, these arenas, most little girls did not. Their experiences, as
children, were not even comparable in their consequences. The following
categories appear to be the most salient for explaining the significant dis-
crepancies in attitude and response of male and female recruits.

      a. Protectiveness, dependency and attitudes towards money.

      Parents, brothers and boys, generally, are protective of little girls.
Memories of the women in this study reveal parents who were always con-
cerned over their daughters' safety, and brothers who were instructed to
watch over their sisters, both older and younger. Most were instructed not

to play with boys, or play "boys' games", because they would injure themselves. They also remembered conversations in which boys were instructed to behave "like gentlemen (rather than normally) when around girls, because they wouldn't want to hurt the girls." One woman recalled her father telling her to ignore a bully, while instructing his son to fight him. His rationale was that his daughter could not afford to be disfigured, while a scar would be construed as masculine should his son be injured. Boys are frequently told to "fight your own battles," in order to become more self-reliant, and to learn that they can affect their environment. Girls, on the other hand, typically experience intervention. They learn to look to others for help and support. Fathers fix broken toys for daughters, and teach their sons to fix things themselves. Girls who engage in "tomboyish" activities, such as tinkering with a car engine, receive negative feedback, while a boy might be praised. In the absence of the father, sons are told to "take over as the man of the house", not daughters.

While little girls are "helping around the house," or being "mommy's little helper", boys are learning that men receive compensation for their labor. While girls are receiving an allowance, boys are working for money by cutting lawns, shoveling snow, delivering newspapers, even bussing tables in restaurants. None of the women in the sample worked until they had graduated from high school. The fundamental message realized by the women was they they could not take care of themselves, and should find someone (a husband) who would do so for them. Boys, on the other hand, learn that they will have to support themselves, and others, as adults, so they had better learn how without delay.

b. Appearance, skills, and evaluation of self.

As a means of recruiting suitors as potential supporters, beauty and a winning appearance are stressed for girls. They become attentive to clothing, hairstyles, make-up, and their "figures". Toys, books, games and the media encourage such observances, even to the point of ritualization. During this same period, boys are acquiring manual and social skills as they engage in team sports, and play with erector sets and building blocks. While the princesses are seeking perfection in the mirror as they await their prince, the prince is learning that he will be valued for what he can do. Such a process produces two very different outcomes with regard to self-evaluation and feelings of self-worth. Women assess themselves according to how well they are liked, and by how many others; men assess themselves by their competence and their gained respect (as measured by occupation, and salary, for example).

c. Friendships and associations

Girls typically seek girl friends who like them, and are like them. These friendships are an end in themselves. A secure relationship with a

best friend, however, is also a restrictive, exclusionary relationship. Games are played on a one-to-one basis, and others become rivals. Such a posture encourages intolerance, criticism, and gossip.

Through their activities in clubs, such as Boy Scouts, and sports teams, boys learn cooperation and tolerance. They see that no one is perfect, that flaws can be overlooked, and that striving to get along is productive. As adults, interaction with colleagues comes naturally as an extension of male comraderie.

d. Competition, success, criticism and rules

As a consequence of their different perceptions of friendship, men and women perceive competition differently as well. Women believe it to be a danger, a highly speculative effort which could result in their personal ruination should they fail. Men find competition stimulating. It is an opportunity to test and sharpen their skills, and to keep from becoming bored. For men, the effort is impersonal. They are not placing their self, or identity, on the line, therefore losing is not defined as failure. There will be other chances, and critiques of behavior will improve your future odds. Women feel criticism as rejection of themselves as persons. If they enter a competition, it is to win. If they fail, it is a reflection of their personal inadequacy, and any referral to this is humiliating.

An additional factor upon which men and women disagree is the purpose of rules. Women believe they are intended to maintain order, so that personal skills will determine the outcome. Rules enable contestants to operate under ideal conditions, so that objective and fair standards of behavior will prevail.

Men tend to emphasize the pragmatic, therefore assess rules as impersonal and flexibile. Part of the competition is seeing how far the rules can be bent or stretched. To succeed is to be the most creative user of the resources available.

e. Emotions

Women become nurturers and caretakers as children. Tending to pets, siblings, and dolls, clearing away dishes and tidying up after others, leads to the hostessing and nursing of adults as an adult. By attending to the emotions of others, women become attuned to their wide range. They become sensitized and sensitive. Through a lack of exposure, men are typically insensitive. Their emotional needs are different and are met more readily. Displays of emotion are infrequent, since they could disrupt the "team spirit." Also, men learn to exchange, rather than bestow, their efforts or their emotions.

None of the women in this study were raised as boys; in fact, they experienced childhood socialization very much as it has just been categorized. Their draw to police work was the result of a variety of factors: perceptions of themselves as unattractive, the lack of a financial supporter, the need for a self-supporting income, disillusionment with jobs defined as traditionally female, the availability of jobs in police work, and the belief that police work required no skills which they did not possess or could not readily acquire. Many of these women, in fact, perceived of police work as a helping occupation, one in which their feminine qualities would be well received. What these women did not realize was that the values and standards of which their occupational repertoire was comprised, would place them in conflict with male colleagues even if their presence on the job was welcomed.

1.2 Attitudes Towards Work

A synopsis of the female recruits' attitudes toward work would be as follows:

- focus on the details of the job to be done;
- do it yourself; don't trust another to do it properly, or as well as you;
- protect your domain, and your rights to any potential rewards;
- ignore what and how others are doing;
- be indispensible, through your dedication and your excellence;
- be yourself; be honest; and play it safe.

By adhering to these qualities, these women expected to be successful, gratified, praised, liked, respected and rewarded.

For the male recruits, expectations for success hinged on a different set of guidelines:

- make friends while on the job;
- be goal, rather than detail, oriented;
- be supportive and "gung ho"; never criticize;
- never volunteer;
- delegate authority;
- be part of the group, the team; put it first;
- take risks;
- work for money, not to be "nice";
- show respect to rank;
- make contacts;
- stretch the rules to the limit;
- have a five and ten year plan;

The variations found in these two sets of guidelines explain why most of the male recruits experienced less stress during training, and less frustration in the field, than the female recruits. Male expectations of the behavioral norms were more accurate than those of the women; male preparation for the unspoken rules of work was more thorough.

The women's expectations could not be realized since their approach to work was only suitable for female occupations--housework, clerical, or nursing, for example.

Indicators, and examples, of the behaviors which caused the women in this study to experience negative feedback, have been grouped by problem area. They include:

Sexuality - expressions of sexuality were inconsistent among the female recruits.
- Seductiveness was employed as a means of communication with male recruits, but was also severely criticized when used by others.
- Women wanted to be treated like one of the boys, but complained when they were not treated like ladies (e.g., were not complimented on their appearance, were exposed to obscene language and jokes).
- On occasions when civilian attire was permitted, many women intentionally dressed in ways which would be considered sexy (braless, tight-fitting, short skirts or shorts, much make-up).

Nurturing - the women would typically encourage people to confide in them, to share their problems, to seek their help. They would volunteer for extra work, such as kitchen duty, and class secretary. They would assist injured classmates, by carrying books, and doing some of their typing. They would frequently do the laundry of some of the male recruits, as well as their sewing.

Organization - too much time was given to being well-organized. Their notebooks went beyond the requirements with color-coding and outlines, and pictures and diagrams. The major difficulty was in obtaining male compliance with their priorities and detailed pre-planning. Their opportunities to be in charge were few, so their efforts typically went unnoticed.

Passivity - Though vocal, the women usually did not act on their complaints, or did not take advantage of opportunities to perform, for fear of appearing rude or aggressive. When they experienced difficulty, they would seek someone else to show them how to do it. They would not take charge of a situation, but would suggest how to take charge. They would frequently attribute their success to luck, rather than ability. They would try to adapt to things they disliked, rather than try to change them.

Perfectionism. Minor flaws would cause many of the women to be upset for the entire day. They were critical of the work of others. They were impatient with the work of others, and would go so far as to do it themselves. They would either not try, or quit trying if they thought they would fail. They set their own standards much higher than those of others, or those required (for those things they considered important).

Teamwork - the women found it very difficult to work with someone whom they did not like. They were dissatisfied when not recognized for having a good

idea, or not having a suggestion implemented. They were reluctant to share information with people they did not like. They were quick to exonerate themselves from guilt, rather than defend the whole group.

Risk-taking - many of the women preferred to avoid promotions (at the Academy) once they adjusted to their difficulties, rather than trying to solve them by obtaining authority. In the field they avoided making decisions if they were uncertain of the position of supervisors, and peers.

Competitiveness - the women were discouraged by peers who had more diversified backgrounds and skills. Whenever possible they would watch rather than participate in an activity. They would also make every attempt to withdraw if unfavorably compared to another, or criticized.

Assertiveness - refusing to say no to requests for assistance, was frequent among the women. They also had difficulty asking others for favors, asking others to refrain from annoying behavior, and complaining to a superior about unfair treatment. Maintaining eye contact and accepting compliments were also not easy. "Giving in" to keep the peace was the usual behavioral tactic.

Giving Orders - the women would usually explain, request, cajole, or persuade others, rather than order them to do anything.

Criticism - all of the women perceived criticism as negative and upsetting. Their response was usually denial, or justification. To take it as advice was perceived as submission, which was "unthinkable."

Rejection - the women felt personally rejected most of the time. Precipitating factors included being ignored, not being invited to share a table at mealtime, being treated rudely, being criticized, and not being chosen for special assignments.

Male recruits frequently spoke of training and work as a "game".

> "We're gonna be here for twenty weeks and they're gonna try to make us miserable. Once you accept that and understand the rules, you can try to make some fun for yourself. The only thing you can't do is take any of it too seriously."

> "Where else can you play for twenty years and retire at half-pay?"

The fundamental difference between the male and female recruits was their perception of the purpose of training. The men regarded it as unnecessary, but unavoidable. It was a ritual through which each would pass on their way to "the real thing."

"They'll try to work us here for twenty weeks because
they know it's the only work they'll get out of us for
the next twenty years."

"You're expected to behave while here, as though you're
taking it all seriously, but you really don't learn any-
thing, and aren't accepted, until you're out on the road."

"This book stuff is for the birds, a real waste of time."

"Once you get out on the road, then you'll learn what it's
all about, not like all this book stuff."

"As soon as you're on the road, you'll see the real way
to do things."

"The road guys tell you to forget everything you learned
at the Academy,that they'll teach you how it's done <u>right</u>."

None of the women shared these attitudes. They believed that this was their
opportunity to acquire all the tools they would need to be successful later.
They saw training as a safe place in which to "get their act together," where
a mistake could hurt no one. They took studying and learning very seriously.

"I'm not here to make friends, I'm here to learn exactly
what to do so that I can do it well when it counts."

"How can they let seventy be a passing grade when there's
so much at stake?"

"They don't give us enough time to learn anything. What
good is running going to do me when I don't know what
charge to use when I'm arresting somebody."

"They don't care if we learn anything, they just want
their cars washed and somebody to kick around for twenty
weeks."

A bitterness pervaded the women over time. While they scored marks in the
nineties on tests, they lost points with their male peers, who were calcu-
lating how much effort it would take to score a seventy-one. They were
enraged when the men on their cleaning details decided to receive a demerit
rather than do a perfect job. The women would complete the job, not wanting
to blemish their own clean records, or be subject to the wrath and criticism
of the inspecting in.tructor. They resented the men's sloppiness allowing
them time to engage in additional physical exercising, so that they were
always better at physical training activities than the women.

The women's bids for academic perfection resulted in a widening gap between themselves and the male recruits. It also created an internal dilemma. They recognized that their beliefs and their priorities were different from the men's, but they were loathe to relinquish them. They believed they were right, but they could not envision a way to improve matters without betraying themselves. They never attributed the difficulties to the occupation, and they never wanted to drop out of police work. They considered leaving the Academy on a few occasions, when they were seriously depressed, but, again, saw that as only hurting themselves. They evaluated the men as personally reprehensible. Even those men who did not actively or directly harass the women, were seen as cowards for not aligning themselves with the women in the fight for the justice they believed was missing.

The women never considered the possibility of adopting an occupational identity which was not synonymous with, or identical to, their personal identity. Such a cleavage could not be reconciled. And so they adapted to a state of turmoil, in which they clung to their own evaluations of their work, and a close friend. Job commitment took second place to personal commitment, on a daily basis, since the women believed their personal standards to be superior to those espoused by their male colleagues. This approach appeared to have worked for them as the data below indicates. The Minnesota Survey of Opinion (short form-see Appendix B) was administered a few days prior to graduation. The results indicate that most of the thirty-eight remaining recruits had found a level of adjustment and morale which could be considered average or better.

TABLE 3 ; MINNESOTA SURVEY OF OPINION (short form) N = 38

GRADUATING RECRUITS

	FEMALE (N = 6)		MALE (N = 32)	
level of:	general adjustment	morale	general adjustment	morale
positive (%)	66	49	52	55
average (%)	16	33	34	31
negative (%)	16	16	12.5	12.5

(This, however, should not be confused with their degree of well-being, which is discussed later in this report.)

1.3 Performance Evaluation

Performance evaluation is a process which insures that valued behaviors are perpetuated. These evaluations take place on formal and informal levels. The former would include the objective testing of those criteria deemed necessary for job performance. The latter would be a subjective determination of the compatibility of an individual with the group.

In the case of the State Police, there was a greater emphasis placed on compatibility, or, more specifically, homogeneity. It was believed that in police work there is a greater dependency on trust and discretion by colleagues than in other occupations. Personal similarities permit predictability and comprehensibility, as well as validation of one's self.

Females in police work are deviant by virtue of their gender. They cannot meet the requirement for homegeneity. And in order to maintain the self-validation mechanism, the system can allow no changes in its set of standards, even for the sake of compatibility between male and female members.

In this case study, in fact, the only changes in the system were designed to highlight incompatibility of males and females. Those areas in which females excelled, such as academics, report writing, grooming and calisthenics, were downgraded in importance. Those areas traditionally considered masculine, such as boxing, running, and hand-to-hand combat received additional attention and pre-eminence. Women's poor performances (compared to males) were attributed to a lack of ability. Those few women who did show potential in physical training activities were referred to as "talking dogs" by some administrators. This meant that while they didn't perform very well, they had not been expected to perform at all.

Overall evaluations used four factors in explaining the success or failure of the women recruits, as the table below displays.

TABLE 4 : FACTORS RELATING TO SUCCESSFUL OR UNSUCCESSFUL PERFORMANCE EVALUATION OF FEMALE RECRUITS

	Success	Failure
Ability	aberration	lack of
Effort	great deal	lack of
Task difficulty	minor (women's work)	maximum (man's work)
Luck	great deal	none

If a woman enjoyed success, she was said to have had a great deal of luck, or a simple task, or have expended enormous effort, or be a freak. Failure is explained by a lack of luck, or taking on a man's job, or making no effort, or lacking ability.

Using this type of rationale, and shifting priorities according to the gender composition of the group,can only place the validity of training and field personnel management in question. Such methods do, however, help to explain the lack of uniformity of occupational identity among male and female

troopers. They do not enter with the same expectations; they do not share the same training experience; they do not react similarly to the same situation; their behavioral repertoires differ; and the organizational parameters are loose enough to permit differential treatment.

1.4 Job Satisfaction

After 6 - 9 months on the job, two indexes of job satisfaction were administered to the sample of troopers (N = 12) followed into the field. They were the Morse Index of Employee Satisfaction and the Brayfield and Rothe Index of Job Satisfaction (see Appendix C). The Morse Index is divided into four categories, as the tables below indicate.

TABLE 5a ; INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION

	FEMALE TROOPERS	MALE TROOPERS
high	33%	50%
medium	66%	50%
low	--	--

While none had lost their desire to pursue a career in police work, the complaints expressed by both male and female troopers were:

1. They were never given a chance to perform to the best of their ability; were given minor assignments; "nothing I could get my teeth into", "nothing that let me shown them how really good I could work." The women felt more strongly about this than the men.

2. All expressed a strong feeling of lacking accomplishment. Again, they believed there was plenty of opportunity, but that they were being excluded from taking advantage of it.

TABLE 5b ; FINANCIAL AND JOB STATUS SATISFACTION

	FEMALE TROOPERS	MALE TROOPERS
high	16%	66%
medium	33%	33%
low	50%	--

The female troopers believed that their salary did not compensate them
adequately for the amount of work they did (especially when compared to
that of their male counterparts). They also explained that while they
did not experience very much hostility, or harassment, they felt like
"second-class citizens."

"I don't get the same respect the men do."

TABLE 5c; COMPANY INVOLVEMENT AND SATISFACTION

	FEMALE TROOPERS	MALE TROOPERS
high	100%	84%
medium	--	16%
low	--	--

A great sense of loyalty was expressed by all. Even the women refrained
from criticizing the Department. This appeared to be a form of ego-enhance-
ment, especially when inter-acting with the civilian population.

TABLE 5d; PRIDE IN GROUP RELATIONS

	FEMALE TROOPERS	MALE TROOPERS
high	84%	100%
medium	16%	--
low	--	--

A sense of platoon and Troop rivalry resulted in the expression of great
pride in each, much the same as Departmental loyalty. The women were
slightly more inclined to be critical, however, due to a lesser degree of
emotional identification with their male colleagues.

The Brayfield and Rothe Index indicated a moderate amount of job satisfact-
ion among the sample. The mean score for the women was 57.3; for the men,
it was 58.5 (highest value of 90). This index addressed more specific
factors, such as work conditions, boredom, enthusiasm, length of work day
and disillusionment. Therefore, it was expected that the responses would
be less positive than those of the Morse index.

Personal interviews indicated that the initial enthusiasm of the female
recruits had waned, but the job was still better than others which had
been available to them. Male troopers seemed less concerned with the job
itself, than what having the job could do for them.

2. Harassment

2.1 Harassing Behavior

The term harassment has been defined for use in this research as behavior which involves repeated and persistent attempts by one person to torment, wear down, frustrate, or get a reaction from another. Such behavior can take a variety of forms ranging from scapegoating to work pressure to verbal mockery and insult to physical abuse. The purpose of harassment is to provoke, pressure, frighten, intimidate, or otherwise discomfort another person, or category of persons.

Despite verbal proclamations to the contrary, it was found that harassment, in this case study, was not utilized as an educational tool, a motivational force, or a disciplinary measure. Harassment occurred predominantly at the Training Academy and was directed at a select few, each of whom was purposeful, well-educated, and mature. The harassing behavior was exhibited by a small number of persons, most of whom were themselves recruits. The purpose of such behavior was to have the victims quit the program and, thus, their jobs, while providing a fringe benefit and status, at no cost, to the harasser. Harassment was utilized as a mechanism for achieving exclusion, and protection of privilege, inasmuch as overt discrimination was forbidden. Furthermore, cases of resignation are rarely investigaged, whereas the administration is accountable for dismissals.

Another factor which was eliminated as an explanation for the occurrence of harassment, in this case, was occupational competition. Within the training and work context, competition had ended with selection. Professing to be part of the "Brotherhood in Blue," the State Police imply that the training situation develops cooperation and occupational solidarity.

Harassment, in this case, stems from the perceived status inconsistencies found within the group. Some examples would be women working outside the home, women "trying to do" men's work, and minority males as policemen rather than crimirals. Since the harassing behavior would not produce material rewards, the only advantage to be gained was the elimination of status inconsistencies, and the preservation of the idealized conceptualizations of the "traditional" membership.

Harassment as a means of securing conformity is commonly found in military and paramilitary groups. Harassment by training officers is defended as a tool to maintain control, to instill fear in order to avoid disobedience, or defiance. In an occupation such as the State Police, which lacks defined, measurable standards of work and productivity, which substitutes idealized conceptualizations, arbitrary harassment situations can be expected to occur. Anyone not expressing or exhibiting similar conceptions will be a potential target. Since there is no objective or universal standard, except in the

individual imaginations of the membership, and since there are no rules
for work conduct, there is a demand for philosophical conformity. For
example, there is the conceptualization that great physical strength is
required in police work, anyone unable to withstand harassment regarding
size, running time, or pull-up skills is considered weak, therefore unworthy
and undesirable. That such criteria are legally inappropriate is ignored,
they are most appropriate in the minds of the majority of the membership.

The two most apparent precipitants of harassment, in this case, were imposed
change (of occupational norms and social status variations (gender and
race). These same factors were also found to contribute causally to the
early development of idealized conceptualizations. Since these 'ideal' con-
ceptions rarely find the occasion to be realized, acting out takes the form
of harassment, a negative expression of the discrepancy between what is
and what is desired. Demanding that certain people "measure up" to an
imaginary standard, a state of readiness far exceeding that which is nec-
essary, or that which is found in the remainder of the membership, only
magnifies the discrepancy. But each time a victim retreats, or withdraws,
it is defined by the harasser as a victory, as a validation that the
ideal conception is real. And so the practice continues.

During the first two weeks of training there was no behavior which was per-
ceived or defined as harassing. Relationships among recruits were coopera-
tive in the majority of cases and civil in all. The early cohesion was
attributed to their expressed vulnerability--being new, not knowing what
was expected of them, not knowing what constituted grounds for dismissal.
They looked to each other for stability, shared their skills, and exhibited
humor and maturity. As daily routines and staff personalities became
familiar, the need for "protection" diminished, but the desire for comraderie
and a genuine liking of one another persisted among many recruits. There
was an easy and sincere rapport between the black males and the women, and
between a small number of white males and the women. The links were said
to be common understanding in the case of the former (being highly visible
small in number, and under special scrutiny) and "of like mind" in the
latter ("I'm not into being John Wayne.") When the black males formed a
study group, for instance, they made it known that anyone could join, but
made a special effort to include the women, who were thought to be, and later
shown to be, the best students. During the daily running period, males from
these two categories would assist the women who would fall behind. Verbal
encouragement and physical assistance were offered, and gratefully accepted.

Beginning in the third week, and noticable by the fourth, however, was a
change in the behavior of a small group of approximately eight white males
toward the women. Whereas most had been helpful or quiet initially, they
were now verbally aggressive with respect to the women's presence and
performance. Ranging from "You don't belong here," to "You'll be sorry

you came here," to "I'll f--- you, but I won't work with you," their remarks
were made on the running track and during free time in the dormitory hall-
way. Obscenities dominated the running scene. Typically better, or faster
runners, the men would hurl words in passing, making what was a difficult
time even worse, and evoking emotional responses from the victims. On one
occasion, the instructor defended the men's behavior as helpful; "they're
trying to motivate you." When the women responded that it was a negative
interaction for them, they were told it would stop, but it did not. In fact,
there was an escalation to being physically struck while being criticized
and mocked. The incidents were ignored by the staff, and the class was
harshly lectured on resolving their own problems, and not running like babies
to the staff

One woman was singled out during this time by one of the men in this group.
Her high-pitched voice, her slightly English accent and her idiosyncratic
vocabulary became the object of continual mimicry and mockery. What had once
been the cause for affection was now cause for flinching by others. For ten
weeks there was no let up. An interruption occurred when the woman was
hospitalized and forced to resign, but resumed shortly thereafter as a
means of reminding and discomforting those who remained.

Other women found themselves to be the recipients of anonymous obscene notes
left in their rooms. The contents referred to the women's anatomies, their
perceived lack of attractiveness, and the sexual uses to which these men
thought they should be put. Some men were forward enough to relay similar
messages personally. Since interpersonal communication was kept to a minimum
by the schedule and the general rule of silence, and since this verbal
harassment consumed a large part of the communicable time, its effects were
significant.

Many men were intentionally "overzealous" in defensive tactics and judo
classes, inflicting injuries. Practicing choke-holds was considered fun
and blackouts did occur. Instructors were usually looking the other way.
The comraderie which had been developing crumbled. Those who were not the
targets of harassment chose to avoid voluntary interaction with those who
were targets. They believed they would suffer similar fates simply by assoc-
iation. They believed that their own weaknesses would be exploited if they
came to the defenses of any victim(s). Many white males and black males
stated that "if the women weren't here, if this was an all-male class like
before, we'd be taking all that shit." While most males did not actually
participate in the harassment, they did contribute to its effects by their
passivity.

A similar assessment can be made of staff behavior. While only three persons
took every opportunity to act harshly, rudely, negatively and punitively,

none of the others made any attempt to respond to the complaints or the symptoms of harassment. They too contributed by their silence, their reluctance to jump the chain of command to notify those who would respond to and resolve the situation, and their refusal to censure such behavior even in their presence. Turning away from the problem made them equally responsible, in the eyes of the victims, as the harassers themselves.

While the training program (less the harassment) was considered stressful, most recruits said they had expected it to a certain degree. With an average age of 28 years old, most had been out of school for several years and expected to find studying difficult. Many, though in good health, had not been physically active, and expected "getting in shape" to be difficult. But none of them expressed an expectation of role ambiguity; of always feeling that they had an insufficient amount of information; of never hearing clearly stated goals, or being given the means to succeed, or having an explicit job definition. They considered this "a lot of pressure." When harassment was added, they felt it was "unbearable," "impossible," and "unbelievable." But they remained, nevertheless.

"I have a right to this job."

"If I don't stick it out, I'll never know if I could have done it."

"I'll die before I'll let that creep win."

"What will my family think?"

"I quit my other job, I can't leave."

"I won't give them the satisfaction."

"I want to be a cop no matter what it takes."

None of the female recruits who left did so voluntarily or because of the harassment. Four of the women were told by a member of the staff that they would never make it and had better resign before they were fired. After hours of what they called "emotional bludgeoning" three wrote letters of resignation. The fourth wrote saying that she was being ordered off the property, but was not resigning, and had not been fired. Three of these women began litigation against this action, and the way they were treated at the Academy. One accepted reinstatement after two months. The other two are suing for financial settlements and policy changes. They claim it was the lack of employer responsibility which prompted them to seek these ends. "When we were sick and injured, we were ignored, so now they can't ignore us, and we'll stop them from hurting women in the future." Most

of the graduates also expressed disillusionment, and a loss of respect for the staff for allowing an atmosphere of anxiety and dread exist. They believed it kept them from learning, and that they were going out into the field unprepared.

The six men who were fired for harassment were reinstated, and graduated two months after the rest of the class. Interviews with more than one of these men provided the following explanations for their behavior:

"We were told to do it starting in the third week."

"It needed to be done."

"It proved they couldn't stand the pressure of the job."

"It was a way to pass the time."

"They told me it was my duty and they'd protect me."

"I didn't do anything, they just overreacted."

"Those women were paranoid."

"They deserved it."

"They were looking for special treatment, and they got it."

"It was worth it."

"I'd do it again."

"I'm allowed free speech."

"You've gotta keep the job pure."

Those recruits who participated in the harassment considered themselves to be in the "in-group". They believed that their behavior demonstrated their power and dominance. They sought to make people fear them, and "play the game by our rules." Those who were not harassed in any way were prejudged to be desirable (even if they didn't join the group), or too physically threatening. As long as they didn't interfere, they were left alone.

2.2   Effects of Harassment

When the harassing behavior first began, it was believed by the victims that ignoring it would lead to its elimination. When such a posture failed, they felt personally overwhelmed. They looked for peer and staff support. When

this did not materialize the following effects, categorized as psychological, physical, and behavioral, were observed.

In the first category, responses usually began with embarrassment or humiliation, confusion, self-doubt, insecurity, and a lack of self-confidence. The next phase involved defensiveness, paranoia, apprehension and alienation. Feeling a basic discordance with these emotional reactions, feeling unlike themselves, resentment, anger and aggression typically appeared as the third phase. For many, the final condition was nervousness, fearfulness, withdrawal and depression.

Physical responses constituted a substantial list. The most frequently exhibited were diarrhea, constipation, headaches, sleeplessness, weight loss, and pain (lower backache, tooth, and sinus). Several women experienced a cessation of menstruation, and cases of acne were numerous for males and females. Four recruits complained of blurred vision, dizziness and ringing ears for the final twelve weeks. One woman was diagnosed as having developed an ulcer, and one man was diagnosed as having an aneurysm (this was the information provided by the administration and the individuals; no medical records were examined in either case). Injuries sustained during physical training were numerous. Sprained ankles, pulled and torn muscles, knee problems, cracked or broken bones, and pulmonary complaints dominated the hospital visits. Several recruits fell victim to colds and the flu. Only four, however, missed one or more days, during the twenty week program, for any of the listed physical problems. It was believed that missing classes would be used as grounds for termination.

Behavioral responses to harassment included humorlessness, rudeness, chronic complaining, chain smoking, hostility (sudden, momentary and followed by an apology), physical withdrawal, cursing, obsessions with certain subjects, and an exaggeration of appearance (clothing, hairstyle, make-up, demeanor) when in civilian attire. This was an attempt to positively accentuate gender or ethnicity. Several of the married males and one of the married females spoke of domestic problems on the weekends.

Slightly more than half of the recruits exhibited some or many of the symptoms described. There was also agreement that the source of their discomfort was the activity of a small number of male recruits, coupled with the lack of staff response. During the seventeenth week, however, these men were fired, after an investigation sparked by the testimony of four women who were fired during the fourteenth week. The investigation yielded corroborative testimony from remaining recruits, and the result caused them to feel an initial sense of relief. When the men, however, went to Court to fight the action, all of the recruits (or new Trooper, by this time) claimed a loss of memory, or an exaggeration of their initial testimony. During those final three weeks of the Academy, their relief turned to fear. Having survived their daily fear of torment, they now claimed to fear reprisal

It should be noted also that certain physical responses to the harassment were exacerbated by the training schedule and training demands. For example, constipation among the female recruits was worsened by not having access to, or time to use, a bathroom when physically necessary. Requiring that the bathroom be clean for morning inspection, and having only five minute breaks between classes until lunch leaves little opportunity for satisfying this need. This situation and nervousness combine to later result in diarrhea. Constipation has also been said to contribute to headaches. For the staff to be aware of this situation, and be reluctant to correct it, can be considered a form of harassment.

Weight loss for most recruits had tapered off by the third week. For the women, however, there was another period of reduction beginning in the seventh week. Since physical training demands and other factors had remained consistent, it is assumed that the additional weight loss could be attributed to anxiety, and loss of appetite. The seventh week had been particularly stressful, and it was from this point that harassment openly dominated the atmosphere.

Physical injuries could not all be directly attributed to malicious assault. It is believed that many of the injuries were incurred as a result of anxiety, and distraction. Many recruits were so tense before physical training periods that they would experience diarrhea and vomiting. Such tension would suggest that there was also likely to be a lack of concentration and, thus, the potential for injury. It was the professed belief of the instructor that this period should be made as difficult as possible, and there was no reconsideration at any time, despite the high injury rate. This could also be considered harassment, given the circumstances.

Three days prior to graduation the General Well-Being Index was administered to the class. The results revealed that 49.7% of the graduating recruits reported moderate to severe distress, with an additional 10.5% experiencing only marginal well-being. Data for the females revealed that 50% reported moderate distress, 16.6% reported severe distress, and 33.3% reported positive well-being. These figures show greater overall distress than those from a national sample of women and a sample of Army women (figures received informally and not referenced), which can be compared in the following table.

TABLE 6 ; GENERAL WELL-BEING INDEX, COMPARATIVE RESULTS

	Female Recruit Sample	Female Army Sample	Female National Sample
Positive Well Being (%)	33.3	65.5	71.0
Moderate distress (%)	50.0	17.6	15.5
Severe distress (%)	16.6	17.1	13.5

(See Appendix D for additional explanation of General Well-Being Index)

Also administered at this time were Dean's Alienation Scale and Srole's Anomie Scale (See Appendix B). In the cases of alienation, recruits scored higher than the standard scores, as can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 7 ; DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE (MEAN SCORES)

	Male Recruits	Female Recruits	Standard Scores
Powerlessness	16.4	16.0	13.65
Normlessness	10.63	10.3	7.62
Social Isolation	16.81	18.8	11.76
Total Alienation	43.67	45.1	36.64

It is interesting to note that while scoring closely in two categories, female recruits show higher social isolation scores than males.

With respect to manifestations of anomie, however, females scored higher than males, or manifested a greater degree of anomie.

TABLE 8 ; SROLE'S ANOMIE SCALE

	Female Recruits	Male Recruits	Total
High (%)	16.6	12.4	13.1
Moderate (%)	33.3	21.8	23.6
Low (%)	50.0	65.5	63.1

While the female recruits faced open hostility at the Academy, the graduating females met very little resistance at their respective Troops. This is believed to have been due to the pending litigation regarding their harassment at the Academy. Past norms being questioned, expressions of negative feelings were generally restrained, and certain topics were avoided while awaiting the outcome of the case. Initially, the general attitude was that if the six men were reinstated, then harassment was given approval; if their dismissals were upheld, then everyone would be more "careful" about their behavior. By the time the settlement occurred, however, general sentiment had changed. Even if the men won, it was believed, because of the accounts of their behavior which had circulated, that these men were wrong to have conducted themselves in such a manner. Also, the neutral time had allowed the women to enter and perform their jobs without added pressure, and the incumbents to make independent observations without undue exhortations, innuenda, or peer pressure. The historical commotion typical of female integration was kept

to a minimum, and the problems experienced by the women had to do with newness, rather than gender, and organizational impotence. The significance of this lies in the fact that when prohibitions and sanctions (or the threat of) were in place, harassment did not occur.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The application of legal force has made traditionally male employment accessible to women. Full integration into these occupations, however, has not been realized. In this case study, the integration of the State Police, the occupancy of positions by women, while legal, was deemed inappropriate, by virtue of their gender. Their transition was fraught with difficulties. They faced not only the typical problems of the newcomer, but some which were not typical of the male experience. A degree of organizational, or structural, chaos exacerbated the difficulties of acceptance, role conflict, rule ambiguity and confusion, and blocked mobility. The underlying provocation is found in status inconsistencies, or gender-based role definitions, and variations of female and male work attitudes.

In learning and attempting to satisfy the demands of employer, peer and self, the women faced a futile situation. Mastery of the technical demands of work was straightforward and relatively simple. Meeting the sub-cultural demands of the job, however, proved to be physically and emotionally ruinous. Finding past experience useless as a guide or a defense, and being too few in number to constitute a counterculture, isolation ensued.

The entry of newcomers is typically an occasion for emphasizing occupational characteristics, as a means of communicating expectations. When the newcomer is perceived as deviant, however, the occasion becomes a challenge. In this case, there was not only the threat of devaluation of past achievement, but the invalidation of the occupational definition. Idealized conceptualizations were found to be the source of organizational policy and procedure, or the lack thereof. Exaggerated images of police work, unsupported by day-to-day demands and performances, resulted in an organizational structure in want of direction, job description, occupational norms, and sanctions. Being a public service agency considered indispensable cushioned the State Police from the usual consequences of such disorganization. Nothing, however, cushioned the women from the idealized, informal management of work. Old boy networks, protege systems, and sponsorship were not only unavailable to them, but were personally repugnant. Tactics included overt ridicule of women, and gender-based partisanship. The absence of ability-based roles and values

confused and frustrated the women. Training was infused with irrelevant activities and tasks to emphasize gender differences, and to validate idealized conceptualizations. High visibility made the women's failure to "measure up" more evident and less forgivable; their successes were cause for retaliation. The first three weeks in the field were relatively free of problems due to the moratorium on harassment externally imposed by pending litigation. That this small amount of discipline could yield such significant results, speaks to the need for improved organizational parameters.

The occurrence of conflict between male and female colleagues can be explained by a number of models, such as "individual deficiency," "sex-role," "Intergroup," and "structural/organization." We know that men and women experience different patterns of socialization; we know that men have dominated the occupational world; we know that society supports gender-based definitions of roles. In this case, however, the solution to the problem of integrating women lies in shoring up the institution. In the short run, all will benefit from a system designed to achieve employment equity, since the underpinnings would be specificity, simpli-fication, routinization, education and communication. In redefining the job, to bring it in line with reality, the conflict over gender-occupancy will be eliminated. In reorganizing the structure of work, efficiency and productivity should improve greatly, as well as personnel morale. Rather than seeking the security of homogeneity in personal attitudes, it may be found in occupational mandates and behaviors. In the long run, it may even be possible to expect such an occupational experience to influence the lives of men and women on a personal level.

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APPENDIX A

Modification of Methodology

The dismissals of four women and six men from the Academy in a three week period led to a great deal of negative publicity for the State Police. Three of the women brought a $3 million lawsuit charging harassment and discrimination by individually named administrative officials, instructors and male recruits (the six who were fired). The six men also brought suit, demanding reinstatement since they had been following the orders of a training class administrator, when engaging in harassment and misconduct.

Believing that the entire research project would be stopped, and therefore, avoid the further embarrassment of a negative evaluation and report, the department's top administrative officials rescinded permission to continue with the final phase of data collection, as it had been planned. The sample of graduating recruits, however, all agreed to continue a modified version of the project. Though unable to ride with them on duty, we would meet as often as possible to debrief, they would respond to the questionnaires, and they would allow me to use my judgment in choosing additional informants to "corroborate" their experiences and provide additional viewpoints. In all there were 12 subjects in the sample, and 30 informants. The anticipated six months of participant-observation stretched into nearly ten months of interviewing.
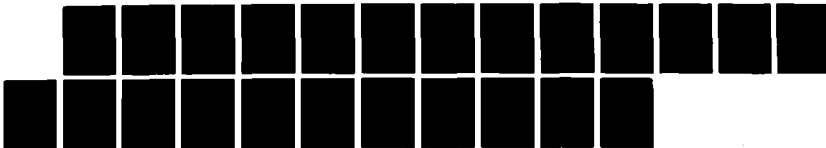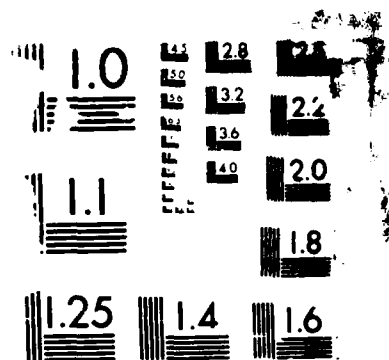
APPENDIX B

1. How have you been feeling in general?   1. ____ In excellent spirits
    (DURING THE PAST MONTH)   2. ____ In very good spirits
                                             3. ____ In good spirits mostly
                                             4. ____ I have been up and down in spirit
                                                     a lot.
                                             5. ____ In low spirits mostly
                                             6. ____ In very low spirits

2. Have you been bothered by   1. ____ Extremely so -- to the point wher
    nervousness or your "nerves"?   could not work or take care of th
    (DURING THE PAST MONTH)   2. ____ Very much so
                                            3. ____ Quite a bit
                                            4. ____ Some -- enough to bother me
                                            5. ____ A little
                                            6. ____ Not at all

3. Have you been in firm control of   1. ____ Yes, definitely so
    your behavior, thoughts, emotions   2. ____ Yes, for the most part
    OR feelings? (DURING THE PAST   3. ____ Generally so
    MONTH)   4. ____ Not too well
                                            5. ____ No, and I am somewhat disturbed
                                            6. ____ No, and I am very disturbed.

4. Have you felt so sad, discouraged   1. ____ Extremely so -- to the point that
    hopeless, or had so many problems   have just about given up
    that you wondered if anything was   2. ____ Very much so
    worthwhile? (DURING THE PAST   3. ____ Quite a bit
    MONTH)   4. ____ Some -- enough to bother me
                                            5. ____ A little bit
                                            6. ____ Not at all

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5. Have you been under or felt you were under any strain, stress, or pressure? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ Yes -- almost more than I could bear or stand
2. ____ Yes -- Quite a bit of pressure
3. ____ Yes -- some - more than usual
4. ____ Yes -- some - but about usual
5. ____ Yes - a little
6. ____ Not at all

---

6. How happy, satisfied, or pleased have you been with your personal life? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ Extremely happy - could not have more satisfied or pleased
2. ____ Very happy
3. ____ Fairly happy
4. ____ Satisfied -- pleased
5. ____ Somewhat dissatisfied
6. ____ Very dissatisfied

---

7. Have you had any reason to wonder if you were losing your mind, or losing control over the way you act, talk, think, feel, or of your memory? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ Not at all
2. ____ Only a little
3. ____ Some -- but not enough to be co or worried about
4. ____ Some and I have been a little c
5. ____ Some and I am quite concerned
6. ____ Yes, very much so and I am very

---

8. Have you been anxious, worried or upset? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ Extremely so -- to the point of sick or almost sick
2. ____ Very much so
3. ____ Quite a bit
4. ____ Some -- enough to bother me
5. ____ A little bit
6. ____ Not at all

---

9. Have you been waking up fresh and rested? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ Every day
2. ____ Most every day
3. ____ Fairly often
4. ____ Less than half the time
5. ____ Rarely
6. ____ None of the time

---

10. Have you been bothered by any illness, bodily disorder, pains, or fears about your health? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ All the time
2. ____ Most of the time
3. ____ A good bit of the time
4. ____ Some of the time
5. ____ A little of the time
6. ____ None of the time

---

11. Has your daily life been full of things that were interesting to you? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ All the time
2. ____ Most of the time
3. ____ A good bit of the time
4. ____ Some of the time
5. ____ A little of the time
6. ____ None of the time

---

12. Have you felt down-hearted and blue? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ All of the time
2. ____ Most of the time
3. ____ A good bit of the time
4. ____ Some of the time
5. ____ A little of the time
6. ____ None of the time

1J. have you been feeling emotionally stable and sure of yourself? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ All of the time
2. ____ Most of the time
3. ____ A good bit of the time
4. ____ Some of the time
5. ____ A little of the time
6. ____ None of the time

---

14. Have you felt tired, worn out, used-up, or exhausted? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

1. ____ All of the time
2. ____ Most of the time
3. ____ A good bit of the time
4. ____ Some of the time
5. ____ A little of the time
6. ____ None of the time

For each of the four scales below, note that the words at each end of the 0 to 10 scale describe opposite feelings. Circle any numb along the bar which seems closest to how you have generally felt DURING THE PAST MONTH.

15. How concerned or worried about your HEALTH have you been? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not concerned at all   Very concerned

---

16. How RELAXED or TENSE have you been? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very relaxed   Very tense

---

17. How much ENERGY, PEP, VITALITY have you felt? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

No energy AT ALL   Very ENERGETIC

listless   dynami

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18. How DEPRESSED or CHEERFUL have you been? (DURING THE PAST MONTH)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	i

Very
depressed   chee:

25. Do you discuss your problems with any members of your family or friends?

1. ____ Yes - and it helps a lot

2. ____ Yes - and it helps some

3. ____ Yes - but it does not help at all

4. ____ No - I do not have anyone I can t: with about my problems

5. ____ No - No one cares to hear about m: problems

6. ____ No - I do not care to talk about : problems with anyone

7. ____ No - I do not have any problems

17. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.

18. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

19. Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and housetending rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

20. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

21. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

22. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.

23. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

24. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

25. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

26. Women do not belong in police work because of their typically smaller size and subsequent lack of strength.

27. Women are too emotional and sympathetic to be able to handle criminals.

28. Women in police work should only be involved with sex crimes and juvenile cases.

29. Women are better at verbally defusing violent situations.

30. Women are more fastidious about detail, therefore likely to be better at things such as report writing.

31. Regardless of attitudes towards women in police work, male police officers should put forth a positive public stance regarding working with female police officers.

Spence, J.T., and Helmreich, R. The Attitude Toward Women Scale (short form),(JSAS) Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 1972a, 2, 66.

SPENCE-HELMREICH ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMEN SCALE (short form), 1976.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

2. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

3. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

4. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

5. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

6. Under modern economic conditions, with women being active outside of the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

7. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause in the marriage service.

8. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

12. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all professions along with men.

13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as men.

14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

15. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

16. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in bringing up the children.

MINNESOTA SURVEY OF OPINION (SHORT FORM)

E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota

1. Times are getting better.

2. Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful.

3. It is difficult to say the right thing at the right time.

4. Most people can be trusted.

5. High schools are too impractical.

6. A person can plan his future so that everything will come out all right in the long run.

7. No one cares much what happens to you.

8. Success is more dependent on luck than on real ability.

9. If our economic system were just, there would be much less crime.

10. A man does not have to pretend he is smarter than he really is to "get by."

11. Laws are so often made for the benefit of small selfish groups that a man cannot respect the law.

12. One seldom worries so much as to become very miserable.

13. The future looks very black.

14. Real friends are as easy to find as ever.

15. Poverty is chiefly a result of injustice in the distribution of wealth.

16. It is difficult to think clearly these days.

17. There is little chance for advancement in industry and business unless a man has unfair pull.

18. It does not take long to get over feeling gloomy.

19. The young man of today can expect much of the future.

20. It is great to be living in these exciting times.

21. Life is just one worry after another.

2. The day is not long enough to do one's work well and have any time for fun.

23. A man can learn more by working four years than by going to high school.

24. This generation will probably never see such hard times again.

25. One cannot find as much understanding at home as elsewhere.

26. These days one is inclined to give up hope of amounting to something.

27. Education is of no help in getting a job today.

28. There is really no point in living.

29. Most people just pretend that they like you.

30. The future is too uncertain for a person to plan on marrying.

31. Life is just a series of disappointments.

SROLE'S ANOMIE SCALE

1. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

2. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

3. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

4. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

5. There's really very little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE

6. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

7. I worry about the future facing today's children.

8. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd like.

9. The end often justifies the means.

10. Most people today seldom feel lonely.

11. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.

12. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.

13. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.

14. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

15. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.

16. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.

17. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

18. There is little or nothing I can do to prevent a real "shooting" war.

19. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.

20. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.

21. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

22. There are few dependable ties between people any more.

23. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.

24. With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which one to believe.

25. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

26. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

27. People are just naturzlly friendly and helpful.

28. The future looks very dismal.

29. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd like.

Srole's Anomie Scale

Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), 709-716.

Dean's Alienation Scale

Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 753-758.

APPENDIX C

BRAYFIELD AND ROTHE'S:
INDEX OF JOB SATISFACTION

0. There are some conditions concerning my job that could be improved.

1. My job is like a hobby to me.

2. My job is usually interesting enough to keep me from getting bored.

3. It seems that my friends are more interested in their jobs.

4. I consider my job rather unpleasant.

5. I enjoy my work more than my leisure time.

6. I am often bored with my job.

7. I feel fairly well satisfied with my job.

8. Most of the time I have to force myself to go to work.

9. I am satisfied with my job for the time being.

10. I feel that my job is no more interesting than others I could get.

11. I definitely dislike my work.

12. I feel that I am happier in my work than most other people.

13. Most days I am enthusiastic about my work.

14. Each day of work seems like it will never end.

15. I like my job better than the average worker does.

16. My job is pretty uninteresting.

17. I find real enjoyment in my work.

18. I am disappointed that I ever took this job.

Brayfield and Rothe's Index of Job Satisfaction

Arthur H. Brayfield and Harold F. Rothe, "An Index of Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology, 35, (October, 1951), 307-311.

MORSE INDEXES OF EMPLOYEE SATISFACTION

Company Involvement Index

1. "How do you like working here?"
   code: Five-point scale ranging from strong like, complete satis-
   faction to strong dislike.

2. "Would you advise a friend to come to work for the Department?"
   code: Three-point scale including: yes, pro-con, and no.

3. An overall coder rating of the employee's feelings about the fair-
   ness of the company, based on answers to questions throughout the
   interview.
   code: Three-point scale, including: feels company fair and gen-
   erous, feels company fair but very exacting, feels company unfair.

4. An overall coder rating of the employee's degree of identification
   with the company based on answers to questions throughout the
   interview.
   code: Three-point scale including: strong identification, some
   identification, and no identification.

Financial and Job Status Index

1. "How well satisfied are you with your salary?"
   code: Five-point scale ranging from very well satisfied to very
   dissatisfied.

2. "How satisfied are you with your chances of getting more pay?"
   code: Five-point scale ranging from very satisfied to very dis-
   satisfied.

3. "How about your own case, how satisfied are you with the way things
   have been working out for you?" (This question was preceded by
   two questions on "getting ahead here at the Department" and was
   answered in that context.)
   code: Five-point scale ranging from very satisfied to very dis-
   satisfied.

4. Coder overall rating of degree of frustration evidenced by respon-
   dent in advancing in his job or in his main vocational objectives.
   Answers to questions throughout the interview were used to measure
   the degree to which employee felt his vocational desires were blocked.
   code: Five-point scale ranging from strong frustration to high
   adjustment, no frustration.

Intrinsic Job Satisfaction Index

1. "How well do you like the sort of work you are doing?"
   code: Five-point scale varying from strong like to strong dislike.

2. "Does your job give you a chance to do the things you feel you do best?"
   code: Five-point scale varying from yes (strong) to no (strong).

3. "Do you get any feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing?"
   code: Five-point scale varying from strong sense of task completion to no sense of task completion.

4. "How do you feel about your work, does it rate as an important job with you?"
   code: Five-point scale varying from very important to of no importance.

Price-in-Group Performance Index

1. "How well do you think your platoon compares with other sections in the Department in getting a job done?"
   code: Five-point scale ranging from very good, one of the best in department, to very poor, one of worst in department.

2. Answers to the section comparison question were also coded on the degree of emotional identification with the section that employee showed. (The use of "we" as opposed to "it" or "they" was one of the indications to the coder of identification.)
   code: Three-point scale: strong identification, mild identification, indifference or lack of identification.

3. "How well do you think your troop compares with other divisions in the Department in getting a job done?"
   code: Five-point scale ranging from very good, one of best in department, to very poor, one of worst in department.

4. Answers to the division comparison question were also coded on degree of emotional identification with the division the employee showed.
   code: Three-point scale: strong identification, mild identification, indifference or lack of identification.

Morse Indexes of Employee Satisfaction

Nancy C. Morse, Satisfactions in the White Collar Job, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1953).

HEMPHILL'S INDEX OF GROUP DIMENSIONS
(shortened form)

1. The group has well understood but unwritten rules concerning member conduct.

2. Members fear to express their real opinions.

3. The only way a member may leave the group is to be expelled.

4. No explanation need be given by a member wishing to be absent from the group.

5. An individual's membership can be dropped should he fail to live up to the standards of the group.

6. Members of the group work under close supervision.

7. Only certain kinds of ideas may be expressed freely within the group.

8. A member may leave the group by resigning at any time he wishes.

9. A request made by a member to leave the group can be refused.

10. A member has to think twice before speaking in the group's meetings.

11. Members are occasionally forced to resign.

12. The members of the group are subject to strict discipline.

13. The group works independently of other -roups.

14. The group has support from outside.

15. The group is an active representative of a larger group.

16. The group's activities are influenced by a larger group of which it is a part.

17. People outside the group decide on what work the group is to do.

18. The group follows the examples set by other groups.

19. The group is one of many similar groups that form one large organization.

20. The things the group does are approved by a group higher up.

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21. The group joins with other groups in carrying out its activities.

2. The group is a small part of a larger group.

23. The group is under outside pressure.

24. Members are disciplined by an outside group.

25. Plans of the group are made by other groups above it.

26. There is a high degree of participation on the part of members.

27. If a member of the group is not productive he is not encouraged to remain.

28. Work of the group is left to those who are considered most capable for the job.

29. Members are interested in the group but not all of them want to work.

30. The group has a reputation for not getting much done.

31. Each member of the group is on one or more active committees.

32. The work of the group is well divided among members.

33. Every member of the group does not have a job to do.

34. The work of the group is frequently interrupted by having nothing to do.

35. There are long periods during which the group does nothing.

36. The members of the group vary in amount of ambition.

37. Members of the group are from the same social class.

38. Some members are interested in altogether different things than other members.

39. The group contains members with widely varying backgrounds.

40. The group contains whites and Negroes.

41. Members of the group are all about the same ages.

42. A few members of the group have greater ability than others.

43. A number of religious beliefs are represented by members of the group.

44. Members of the group vary greatly in social background.

45. All members of the group are of the same sex.

46. The ages of members range over a period of at least 20 years.

47. Members come into the group with quite different family backgrounds.

48. Members of the group vary widely in amount of experience.

49. Members vary in the number of years they have been in the group.

50. The group includes members of different races.

Hemphill's Index of Group Dimensions

John K. Hemphill, Group Dimensions: A Manual for their Measurement, Research Monograph Number 87 (Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1956).

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

GENERAL WELL-BEING INDEX (N = 38)
(1980; non-institutionalized adults; aged 21-39)

	Score Range	#	%	Category %
POSITIVE WELL-BEING				49.9
Elated	105-110	-	-	
Elevated	96-104	-	-	
Moderate-High	83- 95	10	26.3	
Moderate - Low	78- 82	5	13.1	
Marginal	73- 77	4	10.5	
MODERATE DISTRESS				34.0
Discordant	69- 72	3	7.8	
Upset	65- 68	6	15.7	
Disturbed	61- 64	4	10.5	
SEVERE DISTRESS				15.7
Distraught	55- 60	5	13.1	
Debilitated	49- 54	-	-	
Impaired	37- 48	1	2.6	
Disabled	18- 36	-	-	
Depleted	0- 17	-	-	

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